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The Manner of the Country: Dutch Cityscape Paintings and Urban Citizenship in the Seventeenth Century

DISSERTATION

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by

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DEDICATION

For my parents, Michael and Susan

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Manner of the Country: Dutch Cityscape Paintings and Urban Citizenship in the Seventeenth Century

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This dissertation argues that compositional shifts that appear in Dutch cityscape paintings depicting Haarlem and Amsterdam between 1650 and 1672 indicate cultural fluctuations that impacted expressions of urban citizenship. In the decades following the Protestant Reformation and the eighty-year revolt against Spain, Dutch academics and political reformers proposed a relationship between city and inhabitant structured around rationality, voluntary collectivism, and a desire for environmental and existential certainty. Chapter 1 evaluates texts that address the destabilizing effects of the war with Spain and the necessity to strengthen Dutch culture in its aftermath. While written at different times between the start of the war in 1568 and the conclusion of the Stadholderless period in 1672, each of these texts written by various cultural reformers and critics, from the philologist Justus Lipsius, to the historian Caspar Barlaeus, and the economist Pieter de la Court, propose a subjective engagement with Dutch cities and their systems of local government. Chapter 2 maps this trend toward subjective engagements with cultural and political institutions onto visual depictions of the Dutch cities of Haarlem and Amsterdam. Prints and then paintings of cities replace distanced compositional views with more

subjective views, where the features of the city are apprehended from fixed and specific locations, emphasizing each city's distinctive cultural character. Chapter 3 looks more specifically at cityscape paintings produced between 1650 and 1672 to argue that painters produced images responsive to urban residents' own developing sense of subjective intimacy with Amsterdam and Haarlem. These images provided a visual vocabulary to the desire for neostoic order and social collectivism expressed by Lipsius, Barlaeus, and the engineer Simon Stevin. Chapter 4 considers how these paintings functioned as symbolic objects, arguing that they were physical expressions of urban citizenship and bourgeois social inclusion for the resident-collectors who bought and displayed cityscapes in their homes. The concluding chapter proposes additional topics of consideration, such as a comparison between Dutch and English pictorial expressions of urban citizenship and the extent to which these expressions were impacted by the political instability experienced by both cultures during the seventeenth century.

INTRODUCTION

By 1938 western sociologists had become ambivalent about the modern city. For example, Georg Simmel begins his essay "The Metropolis and Mental Life" by pointing out that "the deepest problems of modern life derive from the claim of the individual to preserve the autonomy and individuality of his existence in overwhelming social forces, historical heritage, of external culture, and of the technique of life."[1] He explains that these forces overwhelm a citizen's ability to subjectively engage with the city and its people, forcing him or her to recoil toward the safe spaces of the mental interior. The result, he says, is that the modern city, "makes one blasé because it agitates the nerves to their strongest reactivity for such a long time that they finally cease to react at all."[2] American sociologist Louis Wirth interprets the experience and the fact of the city a bit differently, suggesting that "the growth of cities and the urbanization of the world is one of the most impressive facts of modern times."[3] He argues that while the modern, post-industrial city may feel unruly in its size and complexity, its ability to centralize social, political, and economic forces into one location is a remarkable human achievement. Furthermore, while the interactions that we have with one another in urban environments may be more fleeting than those in rural environments, obscuring the "bonds of solidarity," cities in fact require us to become more mutually interdependent upon one another.[4] Indeed, we may perceive this skepticism of the city's beneficence to human life in various images between the eighteenth and the twentieth centuries.

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[1] George Simmel, "The Metropolis and Mental Life," in Art in *Theory 1900-2000: An Anthology of Changing Ideas*, Charles Harrison and Paul Wood, eds., Oxford: Blackwell Publishing (2003), 132.
[2] ibid 134.
[3] Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 44, No. 1 (Jul., 1938), 2.
[4] ibid 11-12.

The modern city can be a nest of degeneracy containing a cacophony of visual and audible stimuli.William Hogarth linked the city with vice and the dereliction of social obligations in his print *Gin Lane* (1751; The Metropolitan Museum of Art; fig. 0.1). With the help of an addictive foreign influence, gin, citizens of London are "driv'n to despair," where "theft, murder, perjury" play out in the city's streets as buildings crumble to the ground.[5] In twentieth-century New York, the Ashcan School produced paintings of an American city still reeling from the events of the American Civil War but swelling from the influx of new immigration from across western Europe.[6] For example, in George Bellows' *Cliff Dwellers* (1913; Los Angeles County Museum of Art; fig. 0.2), small scenes of daily life unfold within a sea of humanity. More than Hogarth's scene of alcoholism in London, Bellows's painting comes closest to articulating the overwhelming sensory stimuli of the modern city. Young boys brawl in the painting's foreground and tenants hang their laundry on clotheslines that traverse a street teeming with life. The image is an innocent slice of life, but the bright colors and irregular angles evoke a feeling of chaos and noise. Following Wirth, the divisions of labor and the specialization of occupations imbue the city with a kinetic visual quality that life in the rural areas lack.[7] In both cases, the city may be overwhelming, but still abides by the regularized patterns of existence described by Simmel: the pawn broker conceivably keeps regular hours on Gin Lane and the street cars keep to their schedules in Bellows's Lower East Side New York. However, this regularity is obscured by the city's temporal, human, and architectural aggression.

Dutch cityscape paintings between 1650 and 1672 contain none of this tumult. By contrast, they sanitize city life. And although they depict Netherlandish cities during two decades

[5] William Hogarth, "Gin Lane," 1751.
[6] Robert Snyder, "City in Transition," in *Metropolitan Lives: the Aschcan Artists and their New York*, Rebecca Zurier, ed., New York: Norton, 1995, 31.
[7] Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," 13.

of relative, if uneven, prosperity, as a genre they are habitually grouped with the landscapes of rural areas that were also popular during this period. Rolf Fritz defined the cityscape as "paintings that have as their principle theme either a view of a certain city or its streets."[8] And rather than serving as exact reproductions of cities and their visual features, as is the case with many Italian *vedute*, the Dutch cityscape is an artistic interpretation of the features of the city, but most importantly the life and culture that take place there. Dutch cityscape paintings have their own visual rhetoric that hints at themes of autonomy and individuality couched within a larger cultural narrative of peaceful collectivism. They mark the emergence of a form of urban life that integrates subjectivity with historical heritage to propose a remarkable technique of life. The situatedness from which these themes are visually taken in by the viewer signals a striking development in what Wirth terms western "human group life."[9]

To twenty-first-century eyes, the compositional scheme of mid-century urban views like Jan van der Heyden's *The Oudezijds Voorburgwal and the Oude Kerk in Amsterdam*, (ca.1670; The Mauritshuis, The Hague; fig.1.12) suggest a subjective encounter with the city. To begin, the prospect is set low, where the wooden bridge in the middle ground and the stone of the walkway peeking in from the right indicate the groundedness of our position. The viewer does not take in Amsterdam from far away, but from the quay of the Oudzijds Voorburgwal, the oldest canal in Amsterdam. The viewer assumes the position of someone strolling along the canal, looking and listening to the phenomena of seventeenth-century Europe's most prosperous economic and cultural center. A further example is Gerrit Berckheyde's *The Market Place and the Grote Kerk at Haarlem* (1674; The National Gallery, London; fig. 0.3). The city is different, but the view is

[8] Rolf Fritz, *Das Stadt-: und Strassenbild in der holländischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts,* 1932, 9, as cited in translation by Richard Wattenmaker, "Introduction," in *The Dutch Cityscape in the 17th Century and its Sources,* Amsterdams Historisch Museum, Amsterdam and Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, 1977, 18.
[9] Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," 4.

much the same: the city is encountered from street level, where only one viewing position is occupied. In both of these examples, the artist has populated the scene with enough people to suggest the "bonds of solidarity" that allow the early modern city to function and give it its regularity and rhythm. In both paintings a sense of order is an essential element of the artist's experience of the Dutch city.

The subjective viewpoint of these paintings finds its analog in political pamphlets, literary texts, theatrical plays and other forms of public and popular culture. As Inger Leemans indicates, literary authors, in particular, begin to focus more precisely on the activities and social relationships of common people and their bodies as sites of personal desire and political action. During the first half of the seventeenth century, elites were wary of the threat that *het gemeen*, or the commoners, posed to established social and political order.[10] The nature of this threat was largely physical as, it was reasoned, the common classes were dominated by their passions and easily roused to violence, especially in the form of revolts and public demonstrations. However, by the middle of the century, the rhetoric framing local politics changed to include allusions to the state as a "body" composed of people deserving thoughtful attention, whose opinions and desires must be taken into account if there was to be any hope for the future of the Dutch Republic.[11] This turn of attention toward the common classes situates the physical body as the center of literary and political attention, exemplified during the 1660's by pamphlet writers like Franciscus van den Enden.[12] While this embodied rhetoric is most common in texts, it is possible

[10] Inger Leemans, "'This Fleshlike Isle': The Voluptuous Body of the People in Dutch Pamphlets, Novels, and Plays, 1660-1730," in Margaret C. Jacob and Catherine Secretan, ed. *In Praise of Ordinary People: Early Modern Britain and the Dutch Republic*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan (2013), 182-184.
[11] Leemans, "'This Fleshlike Isle': The Voluptuous Body of the People in Dutch Pamphlets, Novels, and Plays, 1660-1730," 185.
[12] See Franciscus van den Enden, *Vrye Politijke Stellingen,* t' Amsterdam: Jacob Venckel (1665). For more on ven den Enden and the wider political milieu to which he contributed his ideas about the role of the common

to detect a similar shift toward the body and its viewing position of the sociopolitical sounding of the urban environment in paintings by van der Heyden and Berckheyde, as well as others who found relative success as cityscape painters.

The prospect of the city that cityscape paintings present shifted at about 1650. In the era prior to 1650, cities were depicted as distant skylines or incidental backdrops to religious allegories, indicating a visual hierarchy of values that privileged allegiance to a monarch and the church. After 1650, not only do cityscape paintings become more popular as collectable goods, they show the city from within, were the subtleties of daily life and vignettes of social accord replace allusions to crown or Christ. Why does the sixteenth-century painter put the viewer in the sky or on a distant hilltop, and then plant the viewing subject on a city street by the middle of the seventeenth century? This change in viewing position is more than just an artistic quirk. The historical and cultural events that contextualize the development of subjective encounters with the Dutch city and the texts and paintings that describe urban centers like Amsterdam and Haarlem reveal shifts in the early modern ethos of urban citizenship that redefine cityscape paintings as more than just evocations of "pride of place."[13] When viewed as expressions of these historical and cultural changes, these paintings indicate a re-evaluation of individual and collective urban relationships to the city in the era between the Protestant Reformation and western Industrialization.

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citizen to Amsterdam municipal politics and its extension into the colonial entanglements of New Netherland, see Frans Blom and Henk Looijesteijn, "Ordinary People in the New World: The City of Amsterdam, Colonial Policy, and Initiatives from Below, 1656-1664," in Margaret C. Jacob and Catherine Secretan, ed. *In Praise of Ordinary People: Early Modern Britain and the Dutch Republic*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan (2013), 211-227.

[13] "Pride of place" is repeatedly referred to as the central justification for the rise in the cityscape paintings popularity in works such as *Dutch Cityscape of the Golden Age*, the exhibition catalog for "Pride of Place: Dutch Cityscapes of the Golden Age," and exhibition the Mauritshuis and the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. For more, see Wheelock, 2008 17-18.

Simmel, Wirth and other twentieth-century sociologists who describe the experience of the city presuppose the individual's subjective engagement with the city as a matter of course. But this fact of life was hardly assumed at the beginning of the seventeenth century.[14] This concept took time and the observations of certain people in a position to sway public opinion about one's sense of self, or "who-ness", to use Timothy Reiss's term, in relationship to his or her existential environment.[15] As the following pages of this dissertation will explain, artists, academics, economists, and others responded to the trauma of the European religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by envisioning a more rational and intimate relationship with one's city and its systems of government. This intimate relationship could also be used to remake the city into something ordered, sanitized, and pliable to post-war Dutch culture's desire for control and certainty.

For example, the Flemish engineer Simon Stevin (1548-1620) thought deeply about his own subjective place in the world. More importantly, he considered the extent to which he could frame his engagement with his context on his own terms and with a crystalized sense of of his own autonomy. In *Het Burgherlick Leven* ("The Civic Life", 1590), a book in which he provides readers with advice about how to live in Dutch cities, he offers his own subjectivity as justification for his authority on issues of life and politics. He says:

> As one may ask me if this matter belongs to my profession, I will answer to this point in the following terms [...]: the first question is about civic subjection, the other, about government. Concerning subjection, since I have been living under it from my childhood till now, without ever playing a part in the government, I wrote about a matter I did practise myself, or at least practised as long as I could.There is no better knowledge of

[14] Timothy Reiss, *Mirages of the Selfe*, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2003, 464.
[15] ibid 4, 470-471.

> subjection than the one subjection itself can teach, this is what declare the most experienced rulers themselves.[16]

Stevin's confidence in his own empirical experience as the pretext for his thoughts about life in the city foregrounds his subjectivity as the central conduit through which to encounter the city. His experience of himself as an individual being and of the city as a space encountered by individuals arrises with conspicuous regularity in a variety of cultural forms following the turn of the seventeenth century. One cultural form that registers this distinctive apprehension of the urban environment with perplexing clarity is the Dutch cityscape painting.

As I explore in this project, Dutch cityscape paintings of the seventeenth century evoke the western city, but from the era of its origin as a modernizing, rhythmic system of economic and social interrelations. By the twentieth century, when thinkers like Simmel and Wirth wrestled with their ambivalence about the modern western city, its size, dizzying population, numbing cycles of noise and choreographed movement, the systemic and punctual nature of the city was an accepted, if alienating, fact of urban life. But in the aftermath of the 80 Years War between Spain and the Netherlands (1568-1648), existential and environmental regularity were seen as solutions to the political and cultural uncertainty roiling through Dutch cities and Towns. Philosophers and philologists who lived through the worst of the war, often forced to flee as refugees, wrote of their feelings of disquiet and their desire for certainty. Within two generations, political theorists, urban planners, and economists theorized concrete ways in which to deliver existential certainty to lager cities like Amsterdam, Leiden, and Haarlem. By the middle of the seventeenth century, painters of cityscapes and town views reimagined the viewer's visual

[16] Translation taken from Catherine Secretan , "Simon Stevin's Vita politica. Het Burgherlick leven (1590): A practical guide for civic life in the Netherlands at the end of the sixteenth century," in *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 28 (2012), 17.

relationship with their city. Painters like Berckheyde, van der Heyden, and others foreground the order and regularity that undergird life in the urban environment. They emphasize the "bonds of solidarity" that delivered Holland from the existential terrors of war and helped to visually create the western metropolis and modern urban citizenship.

My analysis of the relationship between urban planning, visual culture, and urban identity will be grounded in a few analytical approaches. I will begin by considering various texts that offer insights into the perspectives of people living through the last decades of the Dutch Revolt. University professors, economists, and poets lamented their sense of powerlessness, but found within Dutch culture a sense of purpose and the means to find stability. What these thinkers and writers have in common is a belief in the idea one can create stability from within the place that he or she is, remaking the surrounding cultural and physical environment to more effectively meet the demands of a new age. Paintings of the cities of Amsterdam and Haarlem are the fulcrum around which this cultural and visual study pivots, so I will draw on theories proposed by Richard Kagan.

Kagan applies the Renaissance concepts of *urbs* and *civitas* to analyze images of the Spanish colonial world. In outposts like Spanish Brazil, Peru, and Mexico, images were produced by both imperial colonizers and indigenous populations. The images differ, however, according to the degree to which the artist, and his cultural context, felt a sense of social familiarity and intimacy with the regions depicted. Spanish artists depict these regions from a cultural and geographical distance, where villages and towns are rendered from afar, providing visual data about the approximate size and location of the locality. Views from this vantage point resonate with the Roman philosopher Cicero's concept of *urbs*, where a town or city is defined as an entity composed of architectural features and a defensive wall set within a clearly

delineated position in geographical space, and where its citizens pledge loyalty to the city and its leadership.[17] Kagan associates this philosophical frame of the city with the visual compositional system of *chorography*, the format used in mapping and navigational charts, where the complexity of the observable world is reduced to the data of distances and spatial relationships. By contrast, indigenous artists depicted their towns and cities intimately from within their borders, where local culture and the pageant of daily life are given visual primacy. Views from this engaged position harmonize with the Greek philosopher Aristotle's concept of *polis,* or *civitas* in Augustine's Christianized redefinition, where a city is defined by the social accord that its citizens hold in common.[18] This concept is more abstract and fluid. Kagan intertwines this framing of the city with the compositional system of *communicentrism*, where the cultural bonds that bind people in solidarity are evoked in a metaphorical fashion that overrides any claim to strict topographical accuracy.

I employ each of these terms to my analysis of Dutch cityscape paintings. The change in their prospect from *chorographic* to *communicentric* is a central concern. As Arthur Wheelock notes in his essay for the 2009 Dutch cityscape exhibit at the National Gallery of Art, detailed depictions of Dutch cities originally appear as etched and engraved prints in guide books or as illustrations accompanying celebratory poems about the city.[19] These printed views begin to appear at about the turn of the seventeenth century, establishing themselves as a cheap and reliable means to visually describe the city before the quirks of this presentational scheme were adopted by cityscape paintings after mid-century. As described in both the National Gallery

[17] Richard Kagan, *Urban images of the Hispanic world, 1493-1793*, New Haven : Yale University Press, 2000, 24.
[18] ibid 20-12.
[19] Arthur Wheelock, "Worthy to Behold: The Dutch City and Its Image in the Seventeenth Century," in Ariane van Suchtelen and Arthur K. Wheelock, eds., *Dutch Cityscapes of the Golden Age,* The Hague: Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis (2008), 18-19.

catalog and in Bob Haak's essay for a similar show at the Art Gallery of Ontario in 1977, the precise reason for the popularity of these paintings, the shift in their prospect, and the relationship between artist, patron, and painting remain elusive.[20] This dissertation is my attempt to occupy a space in this discourse.

Throughout this study, I will compare early modern ways of thinking about the city to modern sociological reflections. I will illustrate that early modern ways of thinking through the city, its government, its social institutions and the public's evolving relationship with these phenomena is not dissimilar from modern sociological approaches to parsing the socioeconomic layers of the urban experience. The ideas proposed Justus Lipsius (1547-1606), Simon Stevin, Caspar Balrlaeus, and the Johan (1622-1660) and Pieter (1618-1685) de la Court find resemblances in the analyses of Georg Simmel, Siegfried Kracauer, and Henri Lefebvre. All note the city's regularity, punctuality, size, and availability of various consumer goods, but differ in the degree to which each era claims these urban elements are conducive to a happy and safe population. Dutch cityscape paintings can and should be included in considerations of the human urban condition. They render in paint those aspects of city life that these authors describe in text.

I argue that a line can be drawn between the periods of religious and political turbulence that jostled Europe in the era of the Protestant Reformation and the images of tranquility and order at the heart of cityscape paintings by Gerrit Berckheyde, Jan van der Heyden, and others between 1650 and 1672. The definition of urban citizenship and the ways in which it was visually performed and experienced are at the center of this study. Europe's religious and political wars produced reassessments about the nature of the relationship between government and governed by the subjects of political and religious systems. When the Dutch provinces

[20] Bob Haak, "The City Portrayed," in *The Dutch Cityscape in the 17th Century and its Sources*, Amsterdams Historisch Museum, Amsterdam and Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, 1977, 194-195.

declared war on the Spanish king in 1568, they rejected a foreign monarchical system that managed the region since at least 1428 when Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy assumed control of Holland and Zeeland.[21] The Dutch exercise in political sovereignty adapted the lessons of spiritual and individual autonomy percolating throughout Europe as part of the Protestant Reformation, and activated them within the streets of individual municipalities. Texts written by Justus Lipsius, Simon Stevin, and others begin the work of imagining what a Holland governed from within its own cities would look like, and cityscape paintings provide these ideas a visual vocabulary.

Chapter one argues that philosophical, political, and economic texts written during and immediately following the Dutch Revolt argue for more individual control over Dutch politics and culture. For example, Caspar Barlaeus's (1584-1648) *Mercator Sapiens* (1632) reads like a manifesto, calling for the next generation of Amsterdam's elite to use Dutch intellectual and artistic culture to extinguish Mars's flames and rebuild its social institutions. Barlaeus, Lipsius, and the de la Court brothers each took part in establishing a sociopolitical framework intended to complete this task. This framework positioned culture and reformed modes of citizenship as ways to rehabilitate Holland and empower individual citizens to collectively engage with their communities.

Chapter two argues that images of landscape and urban environments produced in the last decades of the sixteenth century evidence a turn toward more immersive compositional strategies. The uses of phenomena like trees, horizon lines, and perspectival relationships situate the viewer within scenes of social and political significance. This trend is accompanied by a similar development in city guidebooks. Following the turn of the seventh century these books

[21] Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477-1806*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1998, 21.

adjust their narrative position, moving from a third person omniscient account of major Dutch cities to first person narratives that emphasize a writer's empirical experience of a place and its culture. The move from objective to subjective experiences of a city in images are mirrored in text. Both replace a *chorographic* schema for visually describing the city with a *communicentric* approach. This trend is then mapped on top of municipal efforts to physically expand Dutch cities and the cooperative nature of the communities within them. The effort to endow Dutch culture with sovereign agency by writers like Justus Lipsius and Caspar Barlaeus assumes its visual form.

Chapter three suggests that cityscape paintings of Haarlem and Amsterdam evoke the internal rhythms that have become a fundamental feature of metropolitan life. Time schedules, clock towers, flows of human traffic and its vocal chatter convey the constancy, regularity, and order that the war-weary generation previous wistfully envisioned. The civil engineer Simon Stevin is a remarkable contributor to this enterprise. In a series of texts, he imagined a neostoic city of the future, where mathematical objectivity and punctuality could reform an anxious urban population into a methodical people able to endure life's uncertainties rationally. The neostoicism he envisioned as a human operating system for urban populations is encoded in paintings of Amsterdam's streets and canals. Henri Lefebvre's theory of *Rhymthanalisis* is used to interpret a latent modernism within paintings of these early modern cities.

Chapter four contends that post-war valuations of urban citizenship drove patterns of material consumption. This link is exemplified by portraits of merchants set within Dutch cities, as well as the collection and display strategies of cityscape paintings by collectors. By overtly indicating the social and economic connections between citizen and city, the merchant class

extended their bonds of urban solidarity into the home, transforming private spaces into sites of political knowledge.

The techniques Dutch artists used to evoke the experience of knowing and existing in the early modern city are not dissimilar from the modes that modern artists used to know and describe their own environments and experiences. Adolph Menzel's *Study of the Binoculars of Helmut von Moltke* (1871; Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin; fig. 0.4) is an example. T.J. Clark and Michael Fried read this picture as evocative of a modern approach to art and thinking visually about the world. Menzel's study of the Prussian field marshal's binoculars is realistic, rendered in gauche and pencil, and depicts the apparatus from various angles. Jospeh Leo Koerner reads this study as an example of modern *factura.* Koerner observes that Menzel has rendered every last detail of the optical instrument, even reworking the curve of the binoculars' lenses in pencil, methodically retracing the lines and solidifying their shape.[22] Why does Menzel go through the effort to paint the metallic solidity of the binoculars, the feel of the leather case and the curl of the case's straps? Koerner surmises that as Menzel does this he comes to know the apparatus and its case intimately. He studies them, knowing by doing. The variety of the angles and the closeness from which he observes these signifiers of modernity indicate the intimacy he has with them and with his moment in time. Painted views of Dutch city streets, with their studied attention to architectural detail and the subtleties of metropolitan community culture convey a similar knowing by doing.

Dutch cityscape paintings prefigure a modern approach to knowing the western city by exhibiting it from an intimate level, from various angles, articulating its architectural and cultural *factura.* By looking and experiencing the intimacy of the city's streets, the painter and the citizen

[22] Joseph Leo Koerner, "Editorial," in *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, No. 36, (1999), 13.

knows the city. This study is not just about the subject of Dutch cities like Haarlem or Amsterdam, or the biographies of the artists who painted them, or even the collectors who bought and displayed them. This study is about how each of these actors came together to mark an important moment in the development of western urban society.

Chapter 1: In This Theater of Nature

In 1632, poet and historian Caspar Barlaeus (*Portrait of Caspar Barlaeus*, ca. 1637-1643, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, fig. 1.1) delivered the inaugural address of the Amsterdam Athenaeum Illustre, a preparatory school for the youngsters of the city's influential merchant class. Assembled in the new reception hall were the self-perceived beating hearts and economic musculature of the civic body of Amsterdam.[23] City councilmen, pastors, physicians, lawyers, merchants, and students listened to an address called *Mercator Sapiens*, or *The Wise Merchant*. As the school's newly-installed professor of philosophy, Barlaeus was especially qualified to assess the social significance and cultural potential of the audience gathered before him. He was also acutely aware of the auspicious place and time in which they all found themselves.

While the content of Barlaeus' address is appropriately grand, noting for posterity a vibrant moment in Dutch history - positioned in the waning days of a war that strengthened Holland's cultural and economic resolve, and just before a sprawling period of political redevelopment and unprecedented urban expansion - it is the structure of his speech that is particularly illuminating. He begins with a customary prayer for guidance and protection over the new school and the citizens assembled within. He implores God to grant them prudence and an awareness of the opportunities the Athenaeum will provide the city and their own experience of the world around them. "May this be their highest wisdom: that in this theater of nature, they shall behold the greatness, the variety and the beauty of Your work," Barlaeus says.[24] From

[23] Cle Lesger, "Merchants in Charge: The Self-Perception of Amsterdam Merchants, CA. 1550 - 1700," in *The Self-Perception of Early Modern Capitalists,* 75-97. Lesger's essay evaluates the extent to which seventeenth-century merchant elites viewed themselves as necessarily more important than other Amsterdammers. His handful of anecdotal examples leave little to doubt that this was the case.

[24] Caspar Barlaeus, *Mercator sapiens: oratie gehouden bij de inwijding van de illustere school te Amsterdam op 9 januari 1632, S.* van der Woude, transl., Amsterdam: Amsterdam Universiteitsbibliotheek, 1967, 54.

within this "theater of nature" Barlaeus then describes his vision of an Amsterdam that was then becoming a major player on the world's stage.

In the speech, Barlaeus holds up a rhetorical and descriptive mirror to the audience, reflecting back at them the features of the city in a way that only an immigrant can: from the outside in, approaching the city from afar. He begins by showing his audience a wide view of the city - a panorama that includes Amsterdam's skyline of churches and houses topped by a cloud-filled sky. He then drops his gaze to the ports and piers that welcome trade goods from the eastern and western stretches of the vast colonized world, pointing out "the awesome amount of merchandise supplied by strangers, there is the crowd and power of ships and the extensive ports, there are also the flags of the fleet around the city, all of which stuns the spectator."[25] Like many of his educated peers, Barlaeus was a student of the classical philosophers, and indebted to the rhetorical structure of writings by Cicero and Aristotle, whose ideas about the relationship between citizen and polis he borrowed from liberally.[26] Furthermore, the specificity with which Barlaeus picks out the defining features of the city has a visual quality that would have been familiar to any Amsterdammer acquainted with contemporaneous artistic trends.

Claes Jansz. Visscher's *Profile of Amsterdam* (1611, Rijksprentenkabinet, fig. 1.2) reflects a similar prospect of the city, integrating those features that stun Barlaeus's spectator. This broadly cartographic print celebrates the city as an international hub of cultural and economic exchange. In the city's profile view, people from around the world bring the gifts of far away places to the personification of Amsterdam (fig. 1.2a). She holds a ship model in her right hand and the city's coat of arms in her left, underscoring the importance of maritime trade

[25] Barlaeus, *Mercator sapiens,* 57.

[26] For more on Barlaeus' application of classical rhetoric to the problems of his present as well as his teaching curriculum at the Amsterdam Athenaeum, see Dirk van Miert, *Humanism in an Age of Science: The Amsterdam Athenaeum in the Golden Age, 1632-1704*. Leiden: Brill, 2009.

to Amsterdam's civic identity. Ships' masts share space with the Amsterdam skyline, where flags join church steeples in the endless expanse. Below the horizontal band containing the city's profile, more intimate images of specific locations within the city, from Dam Square (fig. 1.2b), to the old Stock Market (fig. 1.2c) to the fish market (fig. 1.2d), are set within a textual description of the city. Visscher adds nuance, complexity, and a sense of immersion to his print by plunging into the familiar locales of the city.

Similarly, Barlaeus does not limit himself to the topographical boundary lines of the city, but pushes into Amsterdam, amongst its architecture to find himself on its streets, among the teeming throngs of its citizens. He notices that " when I am fascinated by (the buildings') beauty, the busy traffic of the citizens puts me in confusion."[27] But when he takes a moment to carefully watch, to observe these people moving about in this place, his speech finds its voice and purpose. For him, the citizens keep the machinery of the city running with their systematic and meticulous industry, the earnest efficiency of their civic order and self management.[28] His remarks contain a tone of calm, acknowledging that the worst of the war is over and that Spain's power and global prestige have been depleted. He says:

> we have seen how you armed Mars through your treasures, the Spaniard has noticed, robbed of his ships, of gold, of land, even where we thought there was no land left. Now Minerva, the goddess of science, civilization and wisdom is in your gates and walls, she receives not war, but implores you to hear about the wars of the ancients, not that she may destroy riches and cities, but that you may learn by what decisions they have come up with so as not to repeat them, not that she herself carries out the affairs of the Romans

[27] Barlaeus, *Mercator sapiens,* 58.

[28] "Wanneer ik door de schoonheid daarvan gefascineerd wordt, komt het drukke verkeer der burgers mij in verwarring brengen. En wanneer ik daar aandachtig naar sta te kijken, ontdek ik in die veelheid, de wijsheid van de bestuurderen, de eerbied voor de wetten, de gehoorzaamheid der ingezetenen, hun bedaardheid en wat het voornaamste is, hun zin voor orde." Translation mine. ibid 58.

> and Greeks, for it does not matter that she learns how your citizens trade, but how they can be wise.[29]

The city and its citizens now find themselves in the empowering position of filling that cultural and economic absence. Therefore, it is in these citizens and their stoic resilience that Barlaeus anchors his address, staking the cultural identity and future prosperity of Amsterdam on them and the prudent use of their wealth and talents. He ultimately attempts to guide these burghers and their material consumption habits toward a greater good, reflective of their perception of their own citizenship in this environment of abundance.

The long text of Barlaeus' speech reads like a manifesto for a new age by drawing upon a classical past in an effort to point out a bright future, ultimately to channel and direct the merchants' collective energies into something enduring. He praises the humanism of the ancient Greeks and Romans, suggesting that their pursuit of rigorous philosophical truth created the classical world. Interwoven with this pursuit of truth, however, is the practical application of philosophy to matters of trade and commerce. "In Aristotle's book about the politician, he includes rules about mercantilism to demonstrate that it benefits the wise politician to master the art of commerce," he says. And about "divine Plato", Barlaeus points out that, "in those works in which he writes about the foundations of the perfect state, Plato wants merchants to be included, not just those who buy material goods to then sell, but also those who provide spiritual culture,

[29] Wij hebben gezien hoe gij Mars door Uw schatten hebt bewapend, de Spanjaard heeft het gemerkt, beroofd van schepen, van goud, van land, zelfs daar waar we meenden dat er geen land meer was. Ontvangt nu Minerva, die godin van wetenschap, beschaving en wijsheid binnen uw poorten en muren, niet opdat ze oorlog zal voeren, maar opdat ge haar hoort spreken over de oorlogen van de Ouden, niet opdat zij rijken en steden zal verwoesten, maar opdat zij leert door welke besluiten zij zijn opgekomen en weer te niet gegaan, niet opdat zij zelf de zaken der Romeinen en Grieken behartigt, maar daarover spreekt, niet opdat zij leert hoe Uw burgers handel moeten drijven, maar hoe zij wijs kunnen zijn. Translation mine. Barlaeus, *Mercator sapiens,* 85.

science and art for a reasonable price to sell to others."[30] Barlaeus joins the classical past with his current moment by stating that "a common link is acknowledged between trade and philosophy, just as with all of the other arts, for they have the same things."[31] By suggesting that philosophy, science, art, and trade all require similar qualities of prudence, the rigorous exercise of mental acuity and rhetorical dexterity, Barlaeus is calling upon his audience to utilize their entrepreneurial skill to spread Dutch culture far and wide. Dutch trade can function as the foundation upon which a new Dutch culture can prosper.

Barlaeus argues that virtues such as honesty, selflessness, and civic responsibility should guide the merchant and his activities. However, he is also melding consumption with civic and cultural virtue, directing Amsterdammers to manage themselves, their appetites and their business on behalf of the city and the future of Dutch culture. In this chapter, I consider a variety of political and economic publications to argue that the Dutch re-evaluated the role of the citizen in urban life. Writers like Justus Lipsius, Caspar Barlaeus, and the de la Court brothers argued for a municipal government that was accountable to the needs and desires of the middle class citizen. Although each of these authors wrote from within different moments of the Dutch Revolt and its aftermath, each addressing the concerns of a changing public demographic, Lipsius, Barlaeus, and the de la Court brothers loosely correspond in their desire for a change in the relationship between the subject and his surroundings. Furthermore, the social position from which the author surveyed possible solutions differed; for example, Lipsius was an academic and the de la Court brothers were businessmen with an interest in economics. Yet all influenced the ways in which citizens framed their socioeconomic and political engagements with the

[30] Barlaeus, *Mercator sapiens* 63.
[31] ibid 65.

institutions that regulated their lives, shifting the tone of an existing conversation about civic responsibility begun in the medieval period. In seventeenth-century Holland, these texts speak directly to citizens to suggest that they do not merely receive the effects of government, but that they are the makers of government and culture. This shift in the responsibility and the ethos of urban citizenship will send reverberations through the role of consumerism in public and private life, as well as through the vantage point from which the city and its various institutions are taken in and by whom.

Drawing on the Past

As a general set of concepts, Barlaeus' formulation of this civic and entrepreneurial ethic is equal parts old and new, borrowed and contrived. As one of the leading humanists of his era, Barlaeus was able to synthesize the Classicism that was then viewed with tremendous esteem within the Dutch academy with an appeal to a merchant class that was increasingly perceived as the new center of social and economic power within Dutch society. As a self-professed Aristotelean, he acknowledged the collective benefits of a shared social contract.[32] As a student of Cicero, he eagerly promoted the idea that trade should be free of deception and pure self interest.[33]

The central portion of Barlaeus's address was itself a re-appropriation of *De Koopman*, a thematically-similar speech written by Dirck Volketsz Coornhert, the famed sixteenth-century theologian and philosopher, but with some telling differences reflective of the era.[34] Both Coornhert and Barlaeus grapple with the difficulties of engaging in trade while at the same time maintaining some semblance of virtue. Both drew upon the humanistic influence of Erasmus for

[32] Barlaeus, *Mercator sapiens,* 61.
[33] ibid 71.
[34] Lesger, "Merchants in Charge: The Self-Perception of Amsterdam Merchants, CA. 1550 - 1700," 88.

their approach. However, where Coornhert relied upon Christian virtue to limit the threat of dishonesty, Barlaeus saw the classical virtues of altruism, patriotic duty, and social accord as corruption's antidote. By threading these strands together, Barlaeus's call for cultural reinvestment has less to do with individual spiritual salvation and more to do with the collective glory of the republic. Most importantly, Barlaeus' suggestion of wise cultural investment by Amsterdam's business elite can be viewed more specifically as an active and intentional attempt to direct aesthetic taste and modes of cultural consumption.

With *Mercator Sapiens*, Barlaeus moves beyond simply establishing a connection between commercial prowess and wisdom, a bridge between classical past and bourgeois present; what appears to be at stake for him is the cultural soul of Amsterdam and its future.[35] Across the many lines and pages of his address, Barlaeus calls for successful merchants to direct their wealth toward projects that serve the greater good of Amsterdam and tout the city as the intersection of commerce, wisdom, compassion, and modern culture.[36] He is calling for a linkage between material consumption and citizenship, or rather that one's spending habits ought to harmonize with one's highest aspirations for the collective citizenry of Amsterdam. This included a more mindful approach to the production and collection of one of Holland's most famous market goods: paintings.

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[35] Barlaeus was philosophically opposed to the position of the stadholder and the House of Orange, instead embracing the humanistic opportunity he perceived in the Remonstrants and their political allies, the regents. Barlaeus was one of many Remonstrant sympathizers who was ejected from his teaching post at Leiden University in 1619 as part of a political cleansing after the fall of Johan Oldenbarnevelt. As Amsterdam was more partial to the political and commercial objectives pursued by the regents, Barlaeus relished his new post in Amsterdam. For more on his dismissal from Leiden, see Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic : Its Rise, Greatness and Fall, 1477-1806*. Oxford History of Early Modern Europe. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998, 577-578.

[36] Barlaeus, *Mercator sapiens* 67-68.

The Confluence of Rhetoric and Image

Barlaeus held great appreciation for the visual arts. As a member of the Muiden Circle, a small, if not entirely understood, cultural group that met infrequently during the warm Dutch summers, Barlaeus was privy to art's potential as a visual repository of science, philosophy, history, and Dutch culture.[37] This group, resembling something close to a seventeenth-century French salon, was made up of a variety of Holland's brightest artists and intellects. The poet P.C. Hooft, the playwrights Vondel and Bredero, the philosopher Vossius, and the artist sisters Maria and Anna Visscher were all members of this group at some point or another. Their irregular meetings at Muiderslot, Hooft's castle located southeast of Amsterdam, convened around a shared fondness for art, literature, and culture. Each member in his or her own way contributed to the larger corpus of Dutch Golden Age culture. The group provided a space where art, literature, and science could converge, and then be diffused out into the social centers of neighboring Haarlem and Amsterdam. The group's relationship to, and influence on, poets and painters is unquestionable.[38]

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[37] The Muiden Circle has become somewhat of a legend since the 19th century. Historians mostly agree about the group's existence and the irregular meeting of its members. However, the nature of these meetings and the seriousness with which its members held them is only vaguely understood. Maria Schenkeveld concluded that it is "hardly more than an attractive myth that originated somewhere in the romantic nineteenth century." But other historians, like J.M. Montias, have highlighted the group as an example of the coming together of the Dutch intelligentsia and the visual arts. Additionally, an exhibition of prints and drawings culled from the collections of the group's members was held at de l'Hotel Turgot in 2000. The exhibition framed the group as something in the mold of the French salons of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. See Schenkeveld, *Dutch Literature in the Age of Rembrandt: Themes and Ideas"*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1991, 15-16; and Berge-Gerbaud, *Le Circle de Muiden: un salon litteraire et scientifique dans la Hollande du XVIIe siecle*, Paris: Foundation Custodia, 2000.

[38] In his chapter "A Collector with Connections to Major Cultural Figures: Robbert van der Hoeve and the 'Muiden Circle,' J.M. Mountias attempts to discover why members of literati circles, such as the Muiden Circle, so rarely turn up in the attendance logs of Amsterdam art auctions. His answer is a testament to the relative gravitas that the Circle had within artistic communities. Many of these writers, Barlaeus included, wrote poems in honor of popular painters and their work. For more on the gifting networks between painters and poets, see Michael Zell, "Rembrandt's Gifts: A Case Study of Actor-Network- Theory," JHNA 3:2 (Summer 2011), DOI: 10.5092/jhna.2011.3.2.2. For more information about art collectors within the Muiden Circle, see Montias, *Art at Auction in 17th Century Amsterdam*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2002, 209-219.

Indeed, we know what sorts of paintings Barlaeus preferred - paintings that he felt served this higher calling for artistic production, consumption, and aesthetic taste. As a writer, Barlaeus wrote numerous poems to honor paintings he found pleasing. In 1632, the year of Barlaeus' address to the Athenaeum, Rembrandt completed work on *The Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Tulp* (1632; Mauritshuis; fig. 1.3). In Barlaeus' honorific poem about the painting, written in 1639, he wrote,

> "Dumb integuments teach. Cuts of flesh, though dead, for that very reason forbid us to die.
>
> Here, while with artful hand he slits the pallid limbs, speaks to us the eloquence or learned Tulp.
>
> "Listener, learn yourself! and while you proceed through the parts, believe that even in the smallest, God lies hid."[39]

As William Schupbach explains, to know the inner working of the human body is to know one's self on the material level, but also to know the spiritual self, for "God is in the details" of the body.[40] But to understand the painting on this conceptual level is to also understand the ligature that connects the prominent burgher to his city. Overall, Barlaeus applauds Rembrandt's use of art, and most importantly Tulp's commission, to bring a deeper sense of significance and intellectual contemplation to his paintings of Amsterdam's brightest citizens. It seems that, for Barlaeus, at least, Rembrandt and Tulp have put the *sapientiae* into the *mercatores* visual depiction of himself and his contribution to Amsterdam's rich sociocultural tapestry. This sort of appeal to a more elevated use of one's cultural means seems to have played right into the collective ego of a merchant class that was beginning to view itself with increased self-importance.

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[39] Schupbach, *The Paradox of Rembrandt's "Anatomy of Dr. Tulp,"* Medical History, Supplement. London: Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, 1982, 49.
[40] ibid.

The material culture of the early to mid-seventeenth century suggests that Barlaeus was right to play to the merchant's perception of personal significance. Painted portraits from the 1620's and forward depict wealthy burghers surrounded by the fruits of their merchant dealings, a trope until then typically exercised by members of the nobility. Hendrick de Keyser produced classically-themed busts of successful merchants, and artists such as Jacob van Campen and Salomon de Bray took commissions from Haarlem and Amsterdam businessmen for elaborate architectural projects.[41] However, this appeal to the merchant class' more narcissistic impulses wasn't purely for their own sake, but was part of a larger endeavor to reform and overturn outmoded systems of Dutch thought.[42] Barlaeus' concepts were deeply influenced by intellectual predecessors who had been irrevocably impacted by the ravages of the war with Spain when it hit its violent crescendo toward the end of the sixteenth century. Justus Lipsius had also been just such an intellectual ally in the quest to overturn and reinvigorate the Dutch cultural soul.

Lipsian Stoicism and the City as Garden

Lipsius, the philosopher, philologist, and titan of the Leiden intelligentsia, significantly impacted the way in which people perceived their roles within society and the relationship they held with their towns and cities by calling for an intellectual turn inward. Like Barlaeus, Lipsius was an immigrant from the south displaced by the Dutch Revolt against Spain and its attendant wars of religion. Lipsius produced two books from within the frenzied and frenetic emotional space of these wars: *De Constantia* and *Politica*. The most significant of these two books, *De Contantia*, was published the year of Barlaeus' birth, 1584, and proposed an alternative approach to dealing with the existential alienation that arises in times of war and sociopolitical crisis.

[41] Lesger, "Merchants in Charge: The Self-Perception of Amsterdam Merchants, CA. 1550 - 1700," 84-85.
[42] Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477-1806,* 581-582.

Lipsius combined Christianity with ancient Stoicism to advance an ethical system that situated itself comfortably between the warring ideologies of Catholicism and Protestantism, making its wisdom useful to both sides of the confessional divide. Lipsius' Neostoicism celebrates the use of rationality to overcome the ebbs and flows of existence by encouraging the beleaguered and the victimized to first acknowledge that war is a persistent condition of the human experience, and then to adjust his or her perception of these events. The intended goal is to utilize one's powers of rational thought to see war, depression, and violence as beneficial exercises for the human will, and that these things are all part of a larger cosmological plan. The popularity of this particular book, going through numerous publications and translations almost immediately, suggests that its impact on period thought was measurable and significant.[43]

With the resurrection of Classical Stoicism, Lipsius introduced to the public psyche the potential for control over one's cultural and environmental context that exceeded its initial impetus of the Dutch Revolt. Aside from influencing generations of writers and thinkers throughout Europe, Lipsius gained admirers throughout the creative humanistic disciplines. Peter Paul Rubens paid tribute to Stoicism's historical lineage in his *The Four Philosophers* (1611-1612, Pitti Palace; fig. 1.4). Tucked between the central figures of Philip Rubens, Johannes Woverius, and Justus Lipsius is a Classical landscape that includes the Palatine Hill, the legendary location of the founding of Rome and the governmental hub of its Republic. The connection between Classical learning and civic function is certainly much more than a quirk of strategic visual organization. The artist's staging of the painting's symbolic and iconographic elements imply that Lipsius's ideas can be read in relationship to the cities that served as

[43] John Sellars, "Introduction to Justus Lipsius: On Constancy," in *On Constancy*, trans. Sir John Stradling, ed. John Sellars, 2006, 9.

protective strongholds against Spanish attack. But in an era of peace, these ideas took on greater civic importance.

By the time of the painting's completion, a truce had been established between Spain and the Netherlands, bringing the most violent period of the Revolt to a close. From here, Neostoicism proved itself as a coping methodology that was as equally suitable to the mundane trials of everyday life as it was to the desperate moments at the center of the Revolt's more violent periods. Thus Neostoicism's emphasis on personal mastery and rational order extended to the physical spaces of civic and domestic life.

The idea that people can have recourse over the uncertainties of their environments, whether their internal intellectual spaces or the material sites of modern life, is reified in the spaces of the garden. In book two of *De Constantia*, Lipsius accompanies Langius to his garden, "by the river's side," the elder indicates, reassuring his young friend that "the way is not far, you shall exercise your body and see the town."[44] Once the two arrive at Langius' garden, he describes the importance of its ordered hedges and cool, fruit scented air:

> Do you think when I am there that I take any care what the Frenchmen or Spaniards are practicing, who possesses the scepter of Belgica or who is deprived of it? Whether the tyrant of Asia threatens us by sea or by land? Or finally, 'what the king of the cold country under the north pole imagines?' No, none of all these things trouble my brain. I am guarded and fenced against all external things and settled within myself, careless of all cares save one, which is that I may bring in subjection this broken and distressed mind of mine to Right Reason and God, and subdue all human and earthly things to my mind. […] This is my recreation , Lipsius, in my gardens. These are the fruits which I will not exchange, so long as I am in my right mind, for all the treasure of Persia and India.[45]

Within Lipsius' frame of Classical symbolism, Languis' garden is both a physical space of retreat and a conceptual space where progress can be made toward mastering those things that

[44] Lipsius, *On Constancy,* 75.
[45] ibid 81.

cause physical and intellectual distress with wisdom and virtue.[46] Most importantly, the garden is a natural, organic site set in opposition to the city, where the caprice and volatility of nature can be brought under the rational order, thoughtful intention, and deliberation of the actor. The significance of this loaded symbolism is that it offers the beleaguered mind the feeling of control and certainty over those things that ordinarily evade this sort of predictability. However, if the garden is situated as oppositional to the chaotic rhythms of daily life, what purpose does this metaphor serve during times of relative peace and financial abundance and security?

Lipsius' description and use of the garden suggests that it is a space situated opposite the city, and that in this space the noble labors of creation and the cultivation of the senses can be taken up by heroic figures. The garden is antithetical to the city both in terms of its physical proximity to an urban center and the nature of the sense of control and personal mastery that it cultivates in the occupant. In Book 2 of *De Constantia* Lipsius' interlocutor, Languis, stresses the significance of the garden as a place situated at a safe remove from the humdrum of the city and its business. He sets up the examples of numerous illustrious figures from Classical Antiquity, from the Roman historian and senator Cato Censorious to the Roman general Sulla, as people who forsook the contrivance and ceremony of civic life for the creative control of the garden.[47] This space holds its value as a place of withdrawal precisely because it is removed from the realm of day to day life and its attendant frustrations and difficulties. Furthermore, the degree to which the garden serves as a space of productive scholarship and artistic creation

[46] Mark Morford, "The Stoic Garden," *The Journal of Garden History,* 7, no. 2 (1987), 170. Morford analyzes the manifold functions of the garden against the backdrop of late 16th century Classicism. Within this context, the concept of the garden would have functioned as the site of numerous symbolic and metaphorical associations. For one, the garden was a symbol of heroic virtue, the space that awaits the hero following battle, serving as a restorative binary to active life. It is also the antidote to those things that cause anxiety and distress.
[47] Lipsius, *De Constantia*, 76-77

seems to bolster the reputations and historical regard of its occupant. Languis says of these illustrious characters that

> they had their dwelling in gardens. The studious and learned wits of our age? They delight in gardens; and in them (for the most part) are compiled those divine writings of theirs which we wonder at, and which no posterity or countenance of time shall be able to abolish.[48]

The garden *needs* the city to stand as the opposite that defines it and gives it meaning. Much of this meaning is bound up in the potential for command and certainty that the controlled environment of the garden offers. However, to rely on the garden solely as a place of solace and simple pleasure constitutes an egregious misuse of its productive potential.

In his analysis of the classical symbolism written into the early modern culture of the Dutch garden, and Lipsius' use of it, Mark Morford demonstrates that sensorial delight as an end in itself violates the concept of the garden as a place of creation and productive labor. He cites Seneca's example of Fabricius, a Roman consul known for his legendary honesty, incorruptibility, and commitment to keeping the peace with rival kingdoms in ancient Italy. In Seneca's account, Fabricius' earnest upkeep of his garden, where he shed his political titles and civic distinctions in preference for the noble simplicity of the earth, is a clear statement of his enduring virtue and commitment to honest labor.[49] In this case, the garden functions as a symbol of heroic civic virtue. Seneca's use of Fabricius was intended to counter period assumptions of the garden as a site of simple pleasure. In its early modern context, the garden is a place where virtuous and learned men apply their intellect and ingenuity to productive ends. The entrance to Lipsius' own garden included a strongly-worded warning to visitors that said, in part,

[48] Lipsius, *De Constantia,* 80.
[49] Morford, "The Stoic Garden," 158.

> Do not enjoy the master without limits. Do not approach him before the sixth hour in the evening: do not stay after the seventh. His other hours are devoted to other cares. Here he thinks, here he composes, here is his pen - buzz off![50]

Here, the treatment of the garden as a simple amusement by visitors is nothing but a distraction from the real purpose of the space. Lipsius' application of the Senecan concept of the garden as a place where learned men cultivate their virtue by enacting some kind of control over the natural physical environment becomes a distinguishing facet of a person's integrity as a citizen.

The period within which Justus Lipsius wrote *De Constantia* was markedly different from that experienced by Barlaeus. The summer of 1629 brought about a crippling blow to the Spanish forces in 's-Hertogenbosch.[51] The defeat dealt significant damage to the reputation of the Spanish crown. By 1632, Stadholder Frederick Hendrick had maintained enough of an offensive through the southern Netherlands that the Spanish were sufficiently weakened and demoralized enough to open up peaceful communication and cooperation between Protestant north and Catholic south. The mood throughout the provinces predictably lightened. Between Lipsius's *De Constantia* and Barlaeus's *Mercator Sapiens*, the garden transitions from a protective space of creativity and quiet contemplation opposite the city to a metaphor for collective industry within the city.

In This Theater of Nature

Pivoting from Lipsius' use of the garden, a similar, rationalized structure serves an equal purpose for Barlaeus. Lipsius derives a sense of calming order and productive discipline from the contrived and intellectual order of the garden's natural spaces. Barlaeus similarly derives from the rationally ordered ports, buildings, and the deliberate order of the Dutch people that same

[50] Morford, "The Stoic Garden," 152.
[51] Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477-1806,* 506-507.

sense of systematic harmony. When Barlaeus refers to "this theater of nature" in his opening prayer, he is speaking from inside the space of the Athenaeum, but calling on burghers to move out into the world as actors on a stage, where the natural and built environments are the theater. It is a broad, but useful metaphor that at once draws attention to God's powers of creation in the natural environment and man's creative impulses within his built environment. Both forces are marshaled together with the merchant's wisdom and commercial talents to remake Dutch culture and society for future generations.[52] Lipsius and Barlaeus draw upon the existing symbolism of the garden as a shorthand for contemplative rumination and rational creation, but this image adopts additional significance as an emblem of Dutch patriotic resilience.

In *Allegory of the Deceitfulness of Spain and the Liberty and Prosperity of the Dutch Republic* (ca. 1615; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; fig.1.5), artist Willem Buytewech presents the Seven Provinces as an organized yet enclosed garden. The allegorical figure of the United Provinces, "Batavia", is seated within the niche of an elaborate architectural facade emblazoned with the crests of each province. She confers with "friend(s) of the Fatherland," about the Spanish forces just outside the garden gate. Text located at the top of the print indicates the nature of their conversation: "Notice the renowned wisdom of Dutch housekeeping and perceive the nature of the leopard who is not to be trusted."[53] This print was produced not long after the Twelve Years' Truce, a temporary accord between Spain and the Netherlands from 1609 to

[52] Toward the end of his speech, Barlaeus draws a contrast between past and present, saying that "we have seen how you armed Mars through your treasures, the Spaniard has noticed, robbed of his ships, of gold, of land, even where we thought there was no land left. Now Minerva, the goddess of science, civilization and wisdom is in your gates and walls, receives not war, but implores you to hear about the wars of the ancients, not that she may destroy riches and cities, but that you may learn by what decisions they have come up with so as not to repeat them, not that she herself carries out the affairs of the Romans and Greeks, for it does not matter that she learns how your citizens trade, but how they can be wise." Barlaeus, *Mercator Sapiens,* 85.

[53] Haverkamp-Begemann, "The Etchings of Willem Buytewech," in *Prints; Thirteen Illustrated Essays on the Art of the Print, Selected for the Print Council of America*, edited by Carl Zigrosser, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962, 55-81, as cited in translation by Clifford Ackley, *Printmaking in the Age of Rembrandt*, *Printmaking in the Age of Rembrandt*: *[Exhibition Catalogue]*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1981, 89.

1621. With this iconographical arrangement mind, this print exemplifies the distrust that the Dutch felt for Spain, here symbolized by a looming leopard and a seductive maiden - the maiden to lull Batavia to sleep and the leopard to pull the snoozing nation to pieces. The print also suggests the sort of accomplishments the Netherlands can achieve when she's not terrorized by the threat of imperial attack.

This print is a rather literal treatment of the allegory of the common garden motif. As a visual adaptation of the broad concept of the garden, the print indicates that wisdom and rationality triumph when the implements of war are laid to rest, thus further emphasizing Lipsius' point that peace is a necessary condition for deliberate and rational cultivation - once peace and quietude are achieved the real labor can begin. In this case, the labor in mind would be the expansion and fortification of the cities of the United Provinces, as evidenced by the inclusion of the cultural benefactors of this peace: the farmer, the sea man, and the city man. The deliberate cultivation of the garden in peacetime extends into the city where all come together to contribute their time, talent, and effort. Furthermore, as Lipsius' own garden sign suggests, threats to the stability within the garden are kept outside of the gate of Trust.

Later prints of gardens and natural landscapes in and around Amsterdam demonstrate the repeated application of the garden as metaphorical motif. The oppositional relationship between environments, and their implied states of being, at first resemble Lipsius's employment of the garden more directly. Rembrandt's *View of Amsterdam from the Northwest* (ca. 1640; The Metropolitan Museum of Art; fig. 1.6) does this by literally placing the Amsterdam skyline into the background of a view of the city's marshy surrounds. A subsequent picture, *Landscape with Three Trees* (1643; The Metropolitan Museum of Art; fig. 1.7) is a more interpretive rendering of a similar scene that minimizes the oppositional relationship between garden and city. In *Three*

Trees, Rembrandt has pushed the Amsterdam skyline further into the background, filling the empty space with three large trees who's tops blur into one another. In the middle ground between the trees and the city, herdsmen tend to their cows (fig. 1.7a). To the right of the trees an artist sits upon a hill staring off into the distance (fig. 1.7b). He faces away from the city, suggesting the journey he has made out into nature. Various other figures scattered throughout the print indicate the integration of urban and natural environments and their respective inhabitants. Where Buytewech's garden is protected from Spain by might (*macht*) and reason (*reden*), as well as a wattle fence, Rembrandt's scene is contemplative and tranquil. As Susan Donahue Kuretsky argues, Rembrandt improves upon the existing motif of the Garden as Holland, or *Hollandse Tuin*, by removing the fence of Buytewech's visual allegory and amplifying the feeling of leisure characteristic of the Revolt's waning years.[54] Rembrandt places the city within the natural (God's) landscape, indicating the fact of their shared creative ecosystem. As God creates the skies and the trees, Dutchmen claim the polders and create cities, as though they were specimens in a garden.

Old Ideas Given Life For a New Era

1650 marked a moment of shift in Dutch politics and, to a certain extent, Dutch culture. The sudden and premature death of the *Stadholder*, William II, at age 24 to smallpox left the Netherlands with an opportunity to seriously consider some alternatives to hereditary rule. While a system of monarchy may have suited the medieval worldview, where a prince functioned as part of a larger, monolithic religious hierarchy, the cascade of social, religious, and political events experienced by the Netherlands, from the Protestant Reformation to Prince William's

[54] Susan Donahue Kuretsky, "Worldly Creation in Rembrandt's *Landscape with Three Trees*," *Artibus et Historiae*, Vol. 15, No. 30 (1994), 173.

death, gave the United Provinces an impetus for reconsideration. The literary genre of *reason of state* had become popular in the Netherlands since the start of the Dutch Revolt. Works by Machiavelli, Hobbes, and Althusius ignited the Dutch imagination about the possibilities of a representative government. The challenge for writers and theorists following the stadholder's death was to present an argument for government that disentangled religion and politics, and also synthesized dense material by Aristotle, Plato, Barlaeus, and the more contemporary *reason of state* authors in a form accessible to a wider readership. Johan and Pieter de la Court were two writers who attempted to fill the void left by William II, whose sudden death to smallpox in 1650 left Holland in a renewed state of uncertainty.

Johan (1622-1660) and Pieter (1618-1685) de la Court were brothers from Leiden with a reputation for stirring the political pot. Their father, a prominent figure in the city's textile industry, encouraged his sons to travel and gain a humanist education. Both embarked on grand tours through Europe and matriculated at Leiden University. They displayed an early knack for questioning long held traditions and laughed in the face of sacred belief systems. In *Het welvaren van Leiden* (The Welfare of Leiden, 1659), the brothers ask, "can one think of anything more ridiculous and more capable to extinguish all human wisdom than Philosophy, as it has been taught all over Europe and is still taught at many academia?"[55] Sentiments like these were dismissed as too caustic by the political establishment, and their low opinion of the lower classes did not earn them many admirers. By the time that Pieter moved to Amsterdam in 1665, however, the uneven political climate made the city more receptive to this brand of blunt social and political commentary. Before long, the ideas published by the brothers found their way into

[55] Johan and Pieter de la Court, *Het Welvaren Van Leiden. Handschrift Uit Het Jaar 1659*. Edited by F. Driessen. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1911, 15. See also Arthur Weststeijn, *Commercial Republicanism in the Dutch Golden Age: The Political Thought of Johan & Pieter De La Court,* Vol. 7. Studies in the History of Political Thought, edited by Jörn Leonhard Terence Ball, Wyger Velema. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2012, 67.

the inner circles of the city's political elites. In an effort to reach as wide an audience as possible, the brothers employed a careful mix of high-minded classical rhetoric and visual metaphor rooted in everyday experiences.

In the introduction to *Sinryke Fabulen, verklaart en toegepast tot alderley zeede-lessen, dien- stig om waargenoomen te werden in het menschelijke en burgerlijke leeven* (Amsterdam, 1685), or translated as *Fables Moral and Political, with Large Explications* (London, 1703), Pieter de la Court lays out the rhetorical significance of the marriage of image and idea. He says:

> As an image is indeed no image, except only in as much as it figurates or represents something to us, that out of that image is in itself Possible, True, and Good; and that moreover has some resemblance or likeness to the image: so an idea is no idea but when it represents to us in our thoughts, such an essence as can exist in itself out of our thoughts; that is which as well in them, as in itself, is indeed Possible, True, and Good.[56]

This introduction concisely sums up an association between image and concept that Pieter, together with his brother Johan, employed to communicate political ideas designed for a new age and intended for an increasingly economically diverse reading public.[57] De la Court's *Fables* was a bookend that marked the completion of a long writing career wherein the brothers synthesized a combination of classical and contemporary sources of political thought for a modern reading public. Pieter's *Fables*, in particular, was published posthumously in 1685, held until after the author's death, but provides a detailed example of the usefulness of allegory and visual metaphor for explaining the importance of social and political participation in the public sphere.

Fables offers a strong critique of monarchy and an enthusiastic confirmation of the superiority of a republican style of government, but all gently concealed under a light cover of

[56] Pieter de la Court, *Fables, Moral and Political with Large Explications,* 2 vols. London, 1703, 3.
[57] The works published by the de la Courts enjoyed numerous publication runs in variety of countries throughout Europe. For more, see Weststeijn, *Commercial Republicanism in the Dutch Golden Age: The Political Thought of Johan & Pieter De La Court,* 57.

allegory. The book is composed of a series of short stories, often involving anthropomorphic plants and animals, that illustrate the advantage of representative government and Dutch rationality over the selfishness and gullibility associated with monarchs and their subjects. Each fable is then followed by an extensive explanation about the concepts and personalities symbolized by the characters in each story.

The fable "A Frenchman and a Dutchman in the Kingdom of the Apes" demonstrates the credulous nature of people ruled by monarchs, and the intellectual superiority of those within representative republics. Two Europeans travel abroad and find themselves in a kingdom ruled by crass and dimwitted apes. Both the Frenchman and the Dutchman are equally appalled by the behavior of the king and his court, but when the king of the apes asks how they appreciate the pomp and splendor of the kingdom, each man's answer symbolizes their divergent political systems, and certain intellectual implications about the subjects of each. The Frenchman appeals to both his own sense self-preservation and the ape king's vanity by praising the kingdom. The flattered king appoints the Frenchman to his council in return. The Dutchman, however, speaks his mind, offending the king by complaining about the debauchery and rough behavior of the court and its subjects. The insulted king orders the Dutchman put to death for his frank response. For de la Court, the moral of the tale is that people ruled by monarchies are powerless to resist influence and subjugation. While, on the other hand, those who are citizens of free republics can not help but speak their minds, asserting their individual agency, at times bringing about negative, if unsurprising, consequences. In de la Court's view, people born into free governments are much too accustomed to thinking and acting openly, having "never had any occasion to

trouble their heads about Liberty and Property at home."[58] It was this threat to "Liberty and Property" that the de la Court brothers believed was at stake during the twenty years of the Stadholderless Period.

Speak Plainly

The rhetoric around the wealthy burgher and his responsibility to the maintenance of the city's orderly industry took on an increasingly partisan tone. As mentioned above, the death of the Stadholder in 1650 forced Dutch citizens to consider the prospect of a nation without its hereditary monarchy. Lines were drawn through the seven provinces between those who supported the installation of William's infant son as stadholder, and those who saw the vacancy as an opportunity to flesh out a proto-constitutional republic, a relatively unique prospect within the larger context of early modern Europe.[59] This divergence of thought provided an abundance of published opinions on the matter. The Dutch historian E.H. Kossmann summed up this feeling of division by saying that "political theory thrives in danger, and the main danger in the seventeenth century was civil war, the worst kind of war."[60] It is within this socially and politically volatile climate that the de la Court brothers published a string of popular theoretical works arguing for the permanent suspension of the Dutch hereditary monarchy in favor of the liberty of a pure representative republican government, a "True Freedom."

Not unlike the Dutchman in the fable *A Frenchman and a Dutchman in the Kingdom of the Apes*, the de la Court brothers saw value in speaking plainly, even if it brought physical danger and the possibility of financial ruin. In *Politike Weeg-schaal* (Political Balance),

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[58] De la Court, *Fables Moral and Political, with Explications*, 1703, 41.
[59] Weststeijn, *Commercial Republicanism in the Dutch Golden Age: The Political Thought of Johan & Pieter De La Court,* 276.
[60] E.H. Kossmann, *Political Thought in the Dutch Republic: Three Studies,* Amsterdam: Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, 2000, 13.

originally published in 1662, Johan and Pieter de la Court discuss a variety of topics, from economics, to political power, and philosophy, to a critique of religious involvement in urban politics across six sections. The brothers present themselves to readers as trustworthy individuals who speak straight, doing away with the "pedantic scholastic humbug of scholars."[61]In bearing this out, the brothers repeatedly employ humor and metaphor, such as the trope of the ship at sea to represent the vessel of their argument, and the authors as its able captains, to illustrate points related to their prescriptions for good government and the dangers of monarchy and an oppressive ecclesiastical presence.[62]Their particular approach to presenting these ideas rode the line between classically-inspired high rhetoric and the more casual delivery of marrying concept and accessible visual metaphor. By presenting ideas critical of the hereditary monarchy in as accessible a manner, the de la Courts certainly earned no friends in the government. Be that as it may, their plain-speaking approach, and marriage of concept, image, and visual metaphor, were indebted to Caspar Barlaeus and the *Mercator Sapiens*.

Mercury has long been emblematized as the personification of the pictorial arts. The mercurial attributes of swiftness and clarity are conducive to the visually demonstrative qualities of artistic creation. For example, the title page of Silvestro Pietrasanta's 1634 publication of *De Symbolis Heroicis*, features an emblem designed by Peter Paul Rubens depicting the intrepid Roman god. Mercury and Nature hand off to the personification of Talent the paintbrushes

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[61] Arthur Weststeijn, "Mercury's Two Faces: Commercial Candour as the Key to Capability in the Dutch Golden Age," in *Public Offices, Personal Demands: Capability in Governance in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic*, Jan Hartman, Jaap Nieuwstraten and Michael Reinders, eds., 2009, 157.

[62] The metaphorical use of ships to represent all sorts of things, from the intricate craft of their argument, to the "ship of the state" motif employed by a variety of period maritime painters, certainly does not originate with the de la Courts. As Weststeijn points out, the de la Courts were likely students of Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn, professor of rhetoric, while studying philosophy and politics at Leiden University. Boxhorn, himself, utilizes a very similar nautical motif in his *Emblemata Politica* (1651).

necessary to create "heroic symbols".[63] Caspar Barlaeus and the de la Court brothers both adapt Mercury into their texts to create "heroic symbols" of their own, but with a entrepreneurial and civic bent.

Johan and Pieter de la Court appropriated Barlaeus' use of Mercury to suggest that a government in which plain speaking and rhetorical clarity serve the best interests of the public. In *Mercator Sapiens*, Barlaeus positions Mercury as an ideal to which the wise merchant can strive. He says that wise trade is not brought about by the "hot flushes of Mars, frivolous Venus, narrow Luna, nor laughable Vulcan, but by the wisest of all the gods, Mercury, the creator of wisdom and eloquence."[64] Furthermore, a wise merchant is one who collects wealth not out of material lust, but out of logic, reason and a desire for the betterment of his community. By following Mercury's virtues of candor, truth, honesty, and civility, these merchants, in Barlaeus' view, will achieve a state of civil conviviality. The brothers adopt this plain speech to sell their own ideas.

By mid-century, the de la Court brothers published their most successful and influential work on the role of government and its relationship to the private citizen, *The True Interest and Political Maxims of the Republic of Holland* (1662). In the preface to the reissued edition of the book, printed in 1672, Pieter de la Court lays out his approach to its contents in characteristic Mercurial fashion, stating:

> I am a true Hollander, who always calls a spade a spade, and hates all indirect paths. That I might therefore be in some measure serviceable to my country and friends, and like a

[63] Rubens made frequent use of Mercury and all of his artistic and intellectual associations. Rubens decorated the garden porticos of his house in Antwerp with allusions to Mercury. However, as Jeffrey Muller has pointed out, the artist took the more painterly associations a step further by replacing the god's familiar caduceus with a painter's maul stick. Rubens' revised emblem can be seen in an illustration of his garden taken down by Jacobus Harrewijn in 1692. See Muller, "Rubens's Emblem of the Art of Painting," in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtald Institutes*, Vol. 44 (1981), 221-222.

[64] Barlaues, *Mercator Sapiens,* 61-62.

> good citizen instruct such as perhaps have less experience. I have endeavored to inquire into the true Interest and Maxims of our Republic, and to follow the thread of truth to the utmost of my power.[65]

In following that "thread of truth," wherein it is argued that a republican form of government is not only superior to a hereditary monarchy, but also integrates a city's citizens into the machinery of government more effectively, de la Court delivered a book that received a great deal of attention. *The True Interest* went through eight editions in its first year and, seemingly due to increased attention to the writings of the de la Courts more generally, prompted the republication of a variety of the brothers' other titles.[66] In the hands of the de la Courts, Barlaeus's ideas were broadened from simply being good social principles to becoming a central component of early modern governmental policy.

In book three of *The True Interest*, the de la Courts suggest that going about one's day-to-day commercial business activities is directly related to the health and sustainability of city government. One of the ways that this is accomplished has to do with how city politicians are paid. Unsurprisingly, most politicians were culled from the merchant classes. However, they were gently discouraged from making a permanent career out of politics by being provided a salary far below any income made through private business dealings. As Pieter puts it, people in positions of political power must "maintain themselves by the fisheries, manufactures, traffic, and navigation."[67] On the one hand, such a framework suggests that the mechanisms of government prevent their monopolization by a handful of aristocratic families who might otherwise rely on civil service to maintain their wealth. On the other hand, this displaces the

[65] De la Court, *The True Interest and Political Maxims of the Republic of Holland and West-Friesland*, 1702, ix.
[66] Weststeijn, *Commercial Republicanism in the Dutch Golden Age: The Political Thought of Johan & Pieter De La Court,* 56.
[67] De La Court, *The True Interest and Political Maxims of the Republic of Holland and West-Friesland,* 375.

cultural and political power of the city onto "the busy traffic of the citizens" that both confused and ultimately heartened Barlaeus.

In this era of urban expansion, and the attendant political mechanisms suited to it, Barlaeus's address to the wealthy merchants gathered in the Amsterdam Athenaeum was perhaps more calculated than its soaring classicizing rhetoric may suggest. Amsterdam's city planners knew that a large and growing population brought with it wealth and a diversified market to which to bring goods and services. As immigrants from outside of the Seven Provinces flowed through Amsterdam's ports and civic gates, special taxes were levied to benefit the city. Furthermore, as many of these immigrants arrived skilled and ready to ply their trade, they had the potential to buy themselves into the powerful merchant classes. More wealth brought into the city, and then consistently generated within the city, translated into a more robust local economy. As Barlaeus was keen to assert, material consumption would be a critical element of this equation keeping the system revolving.

Material consumption and the city's urban expansion worked collaboratively. As a similar example, the citizens of Utrecht were also aware that expanding the size and material appearance of the city would attract a middle class ready to contribute to its local economy. In the 1660's, Utrecht organized its own plans for urban expansion. The city's burgomaster, and the expansion's designer, Henrick Moreelse, remarked that expanding the city would

> attract a greater influx of people, primarily opening up suitable, pleasant and wonderful opportunities for powerful and rich people, for the purpose of reviving and relieving our increasingly declining tradesmen and artisans, increasing consumption, and consequently improving all public and private incomes.[68]

[68] Ed Taverne, *In't land van belofte: in de nieuw stadt; Ideaal en werkelijkheid van de stadsuitleg in de Republik 1580-1680*, Maarssen: Gary Schwartz, 1978, 252.

Moreelse's longview for the development of the city was that bringing new wealth into the city would stimulate its flagging middle class, thus providing a vital boost to every sector and demographic in the city.[69] This aligns with Barlaeus's call for the merchant classes to spend their wealth wisely on the goods and services that would bolster the local economy and circulate Dutch material and intellectual culture.

Toward the end of his address to the audience gathered within the Amsterdam Athenaeum Illustre, Barlaeus appeals to their sense of self-importance to call them to a higher purpose. He flatters them by saying that

> You follow in the footsteps of very famous kings, emperors and princes. You have given your citizens a library with a wealth of explanations and ideas, as well as many teachers of wisdom and truth. In addition, you have given your citizens professors who have to proclaim in their own words that what is contained in these books is true, that they are true and fruitful ideas.[70]

And like kings, emperors and princes, these merchants will need an ideal to aspire to: Minerva, Roman goddess of science, wisdom, commerce, and medicine, and increasingly a symbol of Dutch patriotism in the declining years of the Revolt. As Barlaeus suggests, Minerva will guide them to

> learn what places to go, what winds they should sail, to which sky they will move, what distant nations they will visit, what they shall buy, and what kind of faith and sincerity they should belong to.[71]

It is no surprise that Minerva was also goddess of the arts. Her image was utilized by artists and art theorists to elevate the visual arts to an intellectual, virtuous and patriotic enterprise. In 1613, Haarlem painter Hendrick Goltzius produced "Minerva" (ca. 1611; Frans

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[69] Maartin Prak, *The Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, 257.
[70] Barlaeus, *Mercator Sapiens,* 85.
[71] ibid 85.

Hals Museum, Haarlem; fig. 1.8), part of a triptych that also includes paintings of "Mercury" (1611; Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem; fig. 1.9) and "Hercules," to produce an allegory of painting (1613; Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem; fig. 1.10). Minerva provides wisdom and rationality to the painter, symbolized by Mercury, emphasizing the visual arts as an intellectual pursuit. However, the painter and the intellect are united within the sole personage of Minerva by mid-century when the art theorist Philips Angel includes her on the title page of his theoretical manual for artists *Lof der schilder-konst* published in 1642 (Leiden; fig. 1.11). In this image, she stands on an elevated platform labeled "Pictura", holding a maulstick, paint palette and brushes in her right hand and a painting depicting a perspectival study of an architectural environment in her left hand (fig. 1.11a). As H. Perry Chapman points out, the painter and the intellect are also joined with the patriotic figure of Hollandia as the wattle fence seen in Buytewech's "Allegory of the deceitfulness of Spain…" surrounds Minerva. This conflation of allegorical figures is unprecedented in prior personifications of Dutch art and indicates a drift by the artistic community toward more overt displays of patriotism in the visual arts, particularly toward the end of the Revolt.[72] Furthermore, in an era when a national patriotism had yet to materialize, Minerva in this case suggests civic patriotism, particularly in the commercial art centers of Haarlem and Amsterdam.[73]

Cityscape and townscape paintings of the 1660's and 70's render this era's elevated rhetoric about urban industry and social collectivism into complex visual detail. Jan van der Heyden's *The Oudezijds Voorburgwal and the Oude Kerk in Amsterdam* (ca. 1670; The Mauritshuis; fig. 1.12) collapses the relationship between citizen and city, past and present, and

[72] H. Perry Chapman, "A Hollandse Picture: Observations on the Title Page of Philips Angel's 'Lof der schilder-konst'," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, Vol. 16, No. 4 (1986), 239.
[73] ibid 238, 243.

organizes bustling humanity into a quaint canal scene. The viewer is situated along one of the oldest waterways in Amsterdam, where three horizontal bands break up sky, architecture, and human activity. The Oude Kerk, partly obscured by the city's ubiquitous elms, is placed in the very center of the painting. The church's famous clock, the oldest in Amsterdam, keeps time, ringing out the new hour with a carillon that was renovated just two years prior to the painting's completion.[74] A bustling scene of human activity occupies the bottom third of the painting. Van der Hayden provides the viewer with every bit of the de la Courts' "traffic and navigation," as people meander along the street, gather along the quay, and travel by boat down the canal. Men offload beer from a transport barge and various other snippets of cleaning, shopping, and carousing dot the scene. While van der Heyden is known to have invented the placement and appearance of many buildings in his cityscape paintings, this particular scene is painstakingly accurate, going so far as to use modern optical devices to reproduce every brick and door shutter.[75] One wonders what it was about this particular scene that he felt no desire to tamper with.

In the painting, the line of elm trees rises to a triangular apex. This is mirrored by a similar ascent made by the architectural skyline that begins low in the painting's background and climbs to the top of the Oude Kerk's steeple just behind the trees. Beer barrels stacked at the edge of the canal's quay repeat this formation. The visual order of the structural features of the city are complimented by the symmetrical distribution of the human figures below. Many along the street are are gathered into pairs and others, such as the figures in the boat in the painting's center, are grouped into triples that reiterate the visual order of buildings, barrels and trees.

[74] Ariane van Suchtelen in *Dutch Cityscapes of the Golden Age,* 126.
[75] ibid 126.

By the time this painting was produced in 1670, Amsterdam was creeping toward the end of the Stadholderless period that had contributed so much to its wealth and prosperity. Within two years the de Witt brothers, Grand Pensionary Johan and his older brother Cornelis, will be captured by an Orangist mob, torn apart and hung from a gibbet in The Hague. Within a few days the House of Orange was returned to power under William III, ending the Stadholderless period. But in the momentary peace of van der Heyden's painting, the Lipsian garden has merged with Barlaeus's bustling city, becoming the site of controlled and productive creation. It is doubtless that van der Heyden invented parts of this image, but on his panel, the wise merchant has joined with de la Court's free market republican to create a space protected from the worry and uncertainty of the Eighty Years War.

In Conclusion

I have attempted to outline the major texts that articulated and impacted the period's concepts of the city and the public's relationship and responsibility to it. In each of these publications, the author inserts the Dutch burgher as the center of civic activity and the wise stewards of contemporary culture. The appeals that authors make to the growing Dutch merchant class earnestly employ visual metaphors to define and characterize concepts of heroic creativity, rational control over one's environment and the erection of the visual arts as one of Holland's most promising cultural investments. In all cases, the urban citizen is situated as the absolute position from which city government asserts itself and the urban environment is experienced.

In the next chapter, I trace how this repositioning of the urban citizen in public life and municipal politics resulted in a shift in artistic practices. As the city and citizen are realigned, placing more power in the activities and material consumption whims of the burgher, images of the city adopt the viewpoint of this empowered subject.

Chapter 2: Patterns of Design: the City from Print to Paint

In Jacob Vrel's "Street Scene" from about 1654 (J. Paul Getty Museum; fig. 2.1), located at The Getty Museum, an anonymous neighborhood tucked away in an unknown city is positioned as the pinnacle of orderly quietude - as though it were a direct answer to Justus Lipsius' desire for existential peace and environmental constancy. Unremarkable buildings crowd out a dull sky as people and hens meander around on the gravel street below. In the left foreground of the image a small stall offers baked bread for sale. However, Vrel does not appear to be concerned with the quality of the bread, or even that people are buying it. It appears that no one object, detail, or quality is more important than the other. Rather, Vrel's take on the neighborhood seems to be a visual symphony of quiet existence, where each thing is merely part of a larger social whole. The viewer is one more component of this larger inclusive whole because Vrel has placed us on the same gravel street with the hens and passersby - our position is unmistakable - this is not an objective topographical view. The artist has situated this little street as something subjective and familiar, evoking a feeling of intimacy. Vrel's "Street Scene" is representative of a genre of painted city views that replaced the totalized skylines of the previous century with more focused accounts of the architectural environment and the citizens who live within it.

In this chapter I relate the fixity of Vrel's neighborhood and its occupants to a shift in the way that Holland's citizens viewed their relationship to their communities and the way that they conceived of the cities that they called home. The subjective theme and compositional strategies undertaken by Vrel and his contemporaries indicate a visual contrast with late medieval perceptions of the town or city. In our contemporary era, we tend to think, almost unconsciously, of cities as extensions of our own identities - we withdraw from them some component of our

senses of self, and we in kind lend to these cities some component of our distinctiveness. As Siegfried Krakauer argues, there is a certain self-centeredness to living in and identifying with the city.[76] In his view, the modern city is experienced and engaged with directly and with a feeling of immediacy. Dutch cityscape prints and paintings of the mid-seventeenth century articulate a relatively new connection between citizen identity and city space that prefigures the modern perceptions of the city that Krakauer expresses. I argue that this compositional shift, and thus sociocultural move, is a product of the Dutch desire for mastery over one's existential environment following the 80 Years War. The rhetorical focus on the Dutch burgher in texts published in the middle decades of the seventeenth century, as described in chapter one, was part of a cultural milieu that catalyzed a similar focus on the viewers of prints and paintings depicting the city. Like texts, the visual rhetoric of pictures was adjusted to appeal to the burgher's prospect of the city, one that is subjective, grounded in the public squares and canal bridges that filled with urban traffic. This chapter evaluates a shift in pictorial patterns of design.

The concept of subjectivity is central to my analysis of images conveying the Dutch urban environment. I employ this term to mean the compositional choices an artist makes to convey the experience of encountering a specific environment through the eyes of a person embedded in a fixed location. Because I am dealing with one's visual interaction with cities, this term suggests a variety of social connotations. In her study of Dutch Golden Age portraits, Ann Adams synthesizes the research of numerous psychologists and philosophers, from Erik Erikson to Charles Taylor, to indicate that conceptions of identity are not only conditioned by culture and

[76] Siegfried Kracauer, "Lokomotive über der Friedrichstraße," in *Straßen in Berlin Und Anderswo,* Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1964. For an analysis of Kracauer's subjective experience of the city, see Henrik Reeh, *Ornaments of the Metropolis*, Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2004, 108-109.

history, but also that the western concept of identity shifted during the seventeenth century.[77] She argues that this shift is perceptible in the encoded gestures, facial expressions and bodily comportment of portrait sitters. These encoded symbols suggest the social relations shared by sitter, artist, and contemporary as well as future viewers. The effect is to utilize these codes and assume these social relations to subtly invoke the sitter's exterior public persona as well as his or her interior emotional configuration. As Adams detects this psychological shift in a portraitist's use of costuming, hand gesture and facial expression, I similarly attempt to read a psychological shift in the cityscape artist's compositional choices. In this case, these choices include the positioning of a horizon line, the extent to which architectural features frame a scene and rhetorically envelope the viewer's theoretical position in space. These artistic decisions indicate the extent to which the artist and viewer experience an intimate association with the pictured city, or to put it another way, his or her feeling of a subjective citizenship.

The application of "citizenship" as a descriptor of a subject's relationship of inclusion with his or her city and its government went through considerable changes through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. *Burgher* had long been a term referring to the citizen as the central agent of civic society, but as Maarten Prak clarifies, it was not always clear who received this designation. For example, the language contained in civic militia charters drawn up in Amsterdam between 1578 and 1672 never consistently define this term or its recipient.[78] In other cities, some demographics were explicitly denied citizenship, such as Catholics hoping to

[77] Ann Jensen Adams, *Public Faces and Private Identities in Seventeenth-Century Holland: Portraiture and the Production of Community.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, 21-22.
[78] Maarten Prak, *The Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century: The Golden Age,* transl. by Diane Webb, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2008), 158-160.

become citizens of Zwolle.[79] But what is consistent about this term for much of the seventeenth century was its economic framing.

During the Dutch Revolt, citizenship was wielded as a tool to attract a certain type of inhabitant to trading centers like Amsterdam. Population size was explicitly tied to both a city's ability to defend itself and the variety of market activities that would deliver economic prosperity.[80] Therefore, Amsterdam incentivized landholders who could afford the necessary bureaucratic fees and also practiced a skill or craft that would make them appropriate for guild membership.[81] This practice tended to favor economic elites. But as the Revolt drew to a close, and the Dutch government grew more decentralized, the guild structure within individual cities became more politically powerful, revising, and in some cases relaxing, the restrictive citizenship requirements of old, but in many cases still privileging the merchant classes.[82] As common people became more politically attuned to the institutional mechanisms that governed life in cities, the individual citizen's relationship to his urban environment became more intimate, as period political pamphlets, theatrical plays, and popular literature suggest.[83]

World(view) Market

The market stall, while no doubt important to the commercial and economic activity of this neighborhood and its inhabitants, is but one small detail within a larger, anecdotal depiction

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[79] Prak, *The Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century: The Golden Age*, 210-211.

[80] Weststeijn, "Commercial Republicanism in the Dutch Golden Age," 158. Pieter de la Court articulated a preference for a larger population size in *Politike Weeg-schaal* (Amsterdam, 1662), but he was far from the only or the first to place such value on large and varied assemblies of residents.

[81] Prak, *The Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century: The Golden Age*, 160.

[82] Maarten Prak, "The People in Politics: Early Modern England and the Dutch Republic Compared," in Margaret C. Jacob and Catherine Secretan, ed., *In Praise of Ordinary People: Early Modern Britain and the Dutch Republic*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, 154-155.

[83] See Inger Leemans, "'This Fleshlike Isle': The Voluptuous Body of the People in Dutch Pamphlets, Novels, and Plays, 1660-1730." In *In Praise of Ordinary People: Early Modern Britain and the Dutch Republic*, edited by Margaret C. Jacob and Catherine Secretan, New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, 181-202.

of Vrel's neighborhood. While Vrel's use of perspective is haphazard at best, the loose organization of his orthogonals appears to put their vanishing point on a horizon line just above the head of the fishmonger at the door in the painting's background.[84] This placement, combined with the gravel/cobblestone street that opens toward the bottom edge of the picture indicates that the viewer must visually travel down the street, past the carousing neighbors to meet the vanishing point. This grants the painting a fluidity of motion between the world of the viewing subject and the world of the painting that involves the viewer in a way that appears less frequently in similar pantings produced in the century prior. Vrel's view of the market suggests an entirely different visual schema for organizing the world and everyone's placement within it. For example, *Market Woman with Vegetable Stall* by the Flemish artist Pieter Aertsen (1567; Gemäldegalerie; fig. 2.2) directs the viewer's attention to specific objects in the painting's foreground. This assemblage of breads, fruits and vegetables, as well as the amorous peasant couple in the painting's background, carries with it a cosmology of religious meaning.[85]

Market scenes of the sixteenth century emphasize horticultural concerns in line with a Biblical view of the world and its various natural offerings. These paintings combine a burgeoning interest in the expansive, but increasingly governable, world with biblical symbolism that speak to grander existential concerns that function as a metaphysical bridge between the

[84] Following Théophile Thoré-Bürger's misappropriation of this and other paintings as produced by Johannes Vermeer, Vrel has repeatedly been written off as little more than a hobby painter. However, this label may lend his impressions of his neighborhood even greater authenticity, and his visual statements more purity. See Théophile Thoré-Bürger, "Van der Meer de Delft," *GBA*, i.e. per., no. 21 (1866), 297-330, 458-470, 542-575. For more information about this misappropriation's impact in Vermeer's reputation, see Elizabeth Alice Honig, "Looking in(to) Jacob Vrel." *The Yale Journal of Criticism* 3, no. 1 (1989), 54, n20.

[85] See Linda Stone-Ferrier, "Gabriel Metsu's Vegetable Market at Amsterdam: Seventeenth-Century Dutch MarketPaintings and Horticulture," *The Art Bulletin* 71, no. 3 (Sep. 1989): 428-52; and Margaret A. Sullivan, "Aertsen's Kitchen and Market Scenes: Audience and Innovation in Northern Art," *The Art Bulletin* 81, no. 2 (Jun. 1999): 236-66. Sullivan expands on the work of Keith Moxey and Linda Stone-Ferrier to argue that Aertsen drew on the ancient Greek pictorial technique of the *rhyparographos,* or "painter of sordid subjects," to respond to a contemporary art market interest in learned classical motifs. She argues that by doing so, Aertsen satisfied collectors in search of both humanistic and religious iconography.

medieval and early modern world views, at least in intellectual and cultural terms. For example, *Vegetable Market (July - August)* by the Flemish Circle of Lucas van Valckenborch (late sixteenth c.; Kunsthistorisches Museum; fig. 2.3), features a woman and her two children presenting for sale an extensive selection of various root vegetables, gourds, and cabbages. Interspersed throughout the painting are numerous references to virtuous living and the expansiveness of God's natural world. The display of local, practical vegetables are coded reminders of a more moderate lifestyle, free of excess and frivolity.[86] The two roundels located on the wall behind the woman refer to the seasonal cycles, a thematic and compositional detail that relates the market offerings to medieval breviaries. The painting's focus on meticulous horticultural detail and references to the natural cycles of time suggests that the market connects the buyer to a larger divine cosmography. Compositionally, the image impels the viewer into contemplation of the objects assembled in its foreground, as opposed to offering open spaces and pathways for him or her to visually wander. As the visual statement of a particular cultural outlook, paintings of this type exemplify fidelity to systems of faith that bind the individual to his or her social environment.

Paintings of the type produced by Aertsen and Valckenborch encourage a relationship between the images and the viewer that extend medieval narrative modes, but with a significant difference. As Elizabeth Honig argues, Aertsen's collection of various objects situated within a religiously suggestive scene is thematically and compositionally derived from illuminated manuscripts.[87] In contrast to the objects assembled on the medieval manuscript page, however, Aertsen's much larger panels address the viewer as a consumer who is rhetorically encouraged to

[86] Linda Stone-Ferrier, "Market Scenes as Viewed by an Art Historian." In *Art in History, History in Art: Studies in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Culture*, edited by David Freedberg and Jan de Vries, Issues & Debates. Santa Monica, CA: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities (1991), 39.
[87] Elizabeth Honig, *Painting and the Market in Early Modern Antwerp*. Yale University Press (1998), 34.

take the objects assembled in the stall. By taking the objects, while also absorbing the religious moral couched within the scene, the viewer fulfills the role of a market shopper, effectively coerced into the scene and its worldview. Ultimately, the viewer is subject to the painting's invitation and its lure of colorful commodities.[88] This intimate relationship between viewer and the objects assembled in the painting remains largely intact in Vrel's town views, but the objects on display are shifted as well as the cosmography into which he or she is invited. Vrel's paintings replace fruits and vegetables with recognizable elements of general town or city life, and a religious cosmography is replaced with a municipal network of social and economic interrelations. Vrel's repeated focus on this specific neighborhood is an extension of another media form: the early seventeenth-century travel book.

Traveling Through the City

The written descriptions of Dutch cities and towns in travel and city guidebooks, as well as their accompanying illustrations, are the forerunners of paintings like those produced by cityscape artists.[89] Town and city descriptions from about 1611 forward depict urbanized areas as viewed from the subjective position of a resident who takes the reader through the avenues and public squares he knows intimately. In many of the more popular publications, the author begins with a wide-angle view of the city before incrementally moving into the urban fabric, describing the individual streets and canals, then finally coming to rest on the prominent families in the city and their history.[90]

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[88] Honig, *Painting and the Market in Early Modern Antwerp,* 34.
[89] Arthur Wheelock, *Dutch Cityscapes from the Golden* Age, 75.
[90] E.H. Mulier, "Descriptions of Towns in the Seventeenth-Century Province of Holland," in Arthur K., Wheelock, and Adele F. Seeff eds., *The Public and Private in Dutch Culture of the Golden Age.* Newark: University of Delaware Press (2000), 26.

One of the most effective ways to lend a description more weight and literary interest was for the author to insert his own anecdotal experience of the town or city.[91] Prior to the Dutch Revolt, popular travel books connected broad descriptions of various regions throughout the Netherlands with the legendary histories attached to those territories. For example, *Description of the Low Countries* (1567; Antwerp; fig. 2.4) by Ludovico Guicciardini, an Italian transplant to Antwerp, spends considerable time exploring the Batavian myth, Tacitus's heroic tale of ancient Roman expulsion from the Rhine River region by an indigenous Germanic tribe, and its linkages to towns and cities throughout the Low Countries.[92] The book's authorial tone, while descriptively detailed about locations, important rivers and regional exports, is broad, appealing to the visitor or tourist's viewpoint. However, the profiles of the authors who wrote travel and city description books began to change. Authors such as Haarlem's Samuel Ampzing and Amsterdam's Johannes Pontanus were active citizens of the cities and towns that they described.[93] As a result, their accounts carry with them an air of first-hand authenticity. By doing so, they provide the reader with an "on the ground" account of an area and what it is that makes it remarkable and thus worthy of the reader's time and interest. The resulting account is somehow warmer, more human, and more actively engaged on a subjective level. Additionally, the sense of temporality used to frame these chronicles engages the city in the here and the now, as opposed to linking it to a legendary past. This newer, more popular mode of weaving urban tapestries runs in contrast to the unbroken historical continuity established during the late

[91] Mulier, "Descriptions of Towns in the Seventeenth-Century Province of Holland," 29-30. For more on rhetorical uses of the first-person experience, see Thijs Weststeijn, *Art and Antiquity in the Netherlands and Britain: The Vernacular Arcadia of Franciscus Junius (1591-1677),* 2015.
[92] Mulier, "Descriptions of Towns in the Seventeenth-Century Province of Holland," 24.
[93] ibid 25-26.

medieval period and continuing through to the start of the seventeenth century.[94] This is a shift that will later be mirrored in prints and paintings depicting these cities.

City descriptions changed in part also because they became allied with certain developing forms of poetry. During and immediately following the Dutch Revolt, poetry flowered into an artistic form that was employed with some regularity for contemporary social critique and political reportage. The capture of Antwerp in 1585 by Spanish forces initiated a wave of immigration from the southern Netherlands to the north. Many of the refugees were craftsmen, writers, merchants, and industrialists. Southern immigrants into northern cities brought with them a desire for agency, which manifested in emerging genres of literature and poetry.[95] These authors wrote about the Revolt as it unfolded, using poetry to celebrate the achievements of esteemed military figures and decry the peevishness of duplicitous politicians.[96] Oftentimes, these poems, when not commissioned by the figures they celebrated, were produced for reproduction in political broadsheets, and later collected into volumes for commercial publication.[97] For example, one of the most famous poets to set the events of the Revolt to rhyme was Joost van den Vondel (1587-1679). In the 1620's Vondel wrote a number of poems celebrating the recapture of Dutch cities from Spanish forces or honoring the leadership of Frederick Hendrik, Stadholder of Holland.[98] The most popular poems were frequently accompanied by engraved, and then later etched, illustrations that increased the immersive nature

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[94] As E.H. Mulier explains, seventeenth-century Dutch writers of city histories broke with prior descriptive traditions, largely adapted from Italian examples, to employ historians and contemporary narrative techniques to modernize the genre. As a result, city descriptions were more specific and timely than prior modes. Mulier, "Descriptions of Towns in the Seventeenth-Century Province of Holland," 25, 30.
[95] Maria Schenkeveld, *Dutch Literature in the Age of Rembrandt*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1991, 3-4.
[96] ibid 6-9.
[97] ibid 9.
[98] Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477-1806*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998, 516.

of the poem and its themes. The engraving that accompanies Vondel's *Op de Waeg-Schael* (On the Scale), a 1618 poem in which he describes a conflict between two warring sects of Calvinism, allegorizes the conflict as two opponents attempting to tip the sides of a scale while violence erupts in the streets of Dordrecht (Gemeentearchief, Haarlem; fig. 2.5). What is of interest to this present study is both the subjective nature of the poetic form and its availability to added illustration. The bridging of poetry and city description introduced urban imagery in a way that preserved this nuanced subjective experience of the city and its inhabitants. This amalgamation of narrative forms also collapsed classical forms of rhetoric into the Dutch present.

The evocation of "presence" is a fundamental rhetorical strategy in both urban travel books and classically-influenced modes of description popular in humanistic literati circles. Philology, or the humanistic study of classical texts, languages and literature, touched upon nearly every aspect of early modern Dutch scholarly life, providing a useful framework with which to explore issues of existentialism, politics, education, and the visual and literary arts. In those realms where persuasiveness was critical, such as in literature and the visual arts, the rhetorical strategies of the ancients were effective techniques to both evoke the wisdom of the classical world and arouse the intellects of readers and viewers. In his detailed study of the philologist Franciscus Junius (1591-1677), Thijs Weststeijn analyzes the Northern European application of the classical tradition to the visual and literary arts during the seventeenth century. Weststeijn argues that not only is Junius now an overlooked genius of his age, but that his treatise on art, *De schilderkonst der oude,* or *The Painting of the Ancients* (Middleburg, 1641),

was one of the most influential texts on art theory, popular with scholars and painters alike.[99] As Weststeijn demonstrates, seventeenth-century uses of classical rhetoric found traction in both literature and the visual arts, where "presence", or *teghenwoordigheydt,* was essential to connecting the reader or viewer to the meaningful experience of a piece of art. Junius draws on the rhetorical strategies of the Roman orator Quintilian (c. 35CE-c.100CE) to propose that authors and artists must evoke empathy in the piece's beholder. Conveying presence is central to stoking empathy in the mind's eye.

Teghenwoordigheydt joins the artist, the work, and the beholder in a singular experience. In *The Painting of the Ancients,* Junius suggests that the creator of a work must not simply describe an experience or feeling, but show it. Therefore, the author must rely on conventions of literature and language, and the artist on color and composition, to rhetorically demonstrate a phenomenon, like beauty or community, allowing the beholder to be present within the experience. As Weststeijn describes, this "presence" functions on three levels: the creator must be physically present in the work, the viewer must be present with the creator in the work, and the experience of the work must be present in the beholder's mind.[100] The effect is to give the experience enunciated by the work a mode of realism that goes beyond mere visual fidelity. By placing themselves into the urban environments they describe, Ampzing and Pontanus make themselves and the reader present in the experience of the city. Their application of this rhetorical strategy both satisfies a contemporary interest in classical modes of persuasive communication and renders their presentation of the city amenable to subsequent visual attempts to covey the experience of Dutch urban environments.

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[99] Thijs Weststeijn, *Art and Antiquity in the Netherlands and Britain: The Vernacular Arcadia of Franciscus Junius (1591-1677)*. Boston: Brill, 2015, 1-7.

[100] Weststeijn, *Art and Antiquity in the Netherlands and Britain: The Vernacular Arcadia of Franciscus Junius (1591-1677)*, 257-263.

Samuel Ampzing's *Beschrijvinge ende lof der stad Haerlem in Holland* (1628; Gemeentearchief, Haarlem; fig. 2.6) is a hybrid work of city description whose cultural contribution is significant. As a documentarian of Haarlem's history, culture, and architectural features, Ampzing's affinity for and relationship to his city was perhaps more intimate than most. He served as rector of Haarlem's Calvinist church, authored various publications concerning Christian faith and morality, and was a militant proponent of the purity and sanctity of the Dutch language.[101] For example, the introduction to the book begins with an argumentative essay calling for the preservation of the Dutch language from 'contamination' by neighboring languages like Latin and French. However, it is his marriage of image with his own subjective experience of the city that is indicative of a gradual shift in the published city description.

In a print depicting the city's central square, the Grote Markt, Ampzing and artist Pieter Saenredam describe the feeling of being in the city's bustling environment in the midst of one of its more affecting architectural achievements. Saenredam situates the viewer on the southwestern side of the St. Bavokerk as Haarlemers meander in the image's foreground. A gentleman in this foreground holds what appears to be the crest of Willam II, the medieval Count of Holland, as Ampzing effuses about the St. Bavokerk in the text below:

> This is that big barrel, praised in the whole country,
> Such a beautiful and daring building as ever a church was made.
> A credit to the town, a miracle of the country,
> And almost a greater work than any made by human hands…
> Who ever saw more solid work, hewn as if out of rock;

[101] Pieter J. J. van Thiel, "For Instruction and Betterment: Samuel Ampzing's "Mirror of the Vanity and Unrestrainedness of Our Age," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, Vol. 24, No. 2/3, Ten Essays for a Friend: E. de Jongh 65 (1996), 1996, 197-198. Ampzing's love and appreciation for his hometown runs much deeper than simply being employed by its Calvinist congregation and authoring culturally significant publications. As a child, Haarlem's burgomasters funded young Ampzing's theological education in recognition of his father's service to the city as a clergyman. As Thiel reports, this gift was provided in spite of some embarrassment endured by the family when Ampzing's father was dismissed from his post for preaching false doctrine. Ampzing's gratitude seldom went unmentioned.

So elegant too! Oh, pearl of buildings!
Where to find its equal? Wherever you go,
No tower exists like this on our church.[102]

Elsewhere in his poem, Ampzing praises the urban features that constitute this central square, drawing our attention to the elements that make for a thriving modern metropolis, suggesting that they are "So striking, so spacious… [here] the city's authority is established: the proud palace, the great vast church, the markets of fish and meat." In yet another poem, Amazing praises Haarlem's municipal town hall and the laws that it upholds. In Jan van de Velde's accompanying image, Haarlemers meander below the town hall in the center and in front of the city's meat hall to the left (1628; Gemeentearchief, Haarlem; fig. 2.7). Taken together, these sentiments outline not only Ampzing's very personal and subjective evaluation and experience of his city, but they also suggest what, in his view, constitutes a thriving modern city. For him, the city's authority is built upon the republican, representative government housed within the town hall, the morally stabilizing presence of local religion, and free and vibrant commerce, as symbolized by the "markets of fish and meat" that outline the footprint of the Saint Bavokerk. Ampzing's summation is situated in the here-and-now of his personal experience in a way that has progressed beyond the dispassionate, objective viewpoint popular in the sixteenth century.

As a point of comparison, the 1612 editions of Guicciardini's *The Description of the Low Countries* includes illustrations that emphasize the distance covered by Ampzing's more personalized account of Haarlem. The images contained within are by and large chorographic or topographic prints that give the layout of the larger cities of the northern and southern Netherlands, with the occasional image commemorating a famous engineer or ancient battle. For

[102] Samuel Ampzing, *Beschrijvinge ende lof der stad Haerlem in Holland*, Haarlem: Adriaen Rooman, 1628, 288-289. Translation mine.

example, Guicciardini's description of Amsterdam, contained in his original 1567 edition, includes a bird's-eye view of the city (The Getty Research Institute; fig. 2.8) that was based on Cornelis Anthonisz.'s 1538 painting of Amsterdam (Amsterdam Museum; fig. 2.9). Later editions updated the accompanying imagery to include more human figures, but still maintain a distanced viewpoint of the cities described. The image of the city of 's-Hertogenbosch in the 1582 edition of *The Description of the Low Countries* situates figures in the picture's foreground, but still relegates the city to a distanced skyline (fig. 2.10). These images perpetuate a distanced relationship to Dutch cities and the people who inhabit them.

By the start of the seventeenth century, later editions of Guicciardini's book include images that begin to travel deeper into the specific squares and locations within some of the cities described. For example, one of the few images to actually peer into a city to provide the reader or viewer with a snapshot of urban life is an image of the Amsterdam Stock Exchange by Claes Visscher (1612; The Getty Research Institute; fig. 2.11). The image depicts the exchange straddling the Amstel as merchants and investors file in and out of its ornamented colonnade. Their activities are supervised by the clock tower overhead which records the operating times of the exchange. A protective caduceus rests against a money purse, both of which sit atop a decorative pillar that contains a poem by P.C. Hooft. This particular image may well be due to its comparatively late publication date - Visscher's images were commissioned for the book's republication in 1612. In comparison to older editions of the book, those reproduced during the first few decades of the seventeenth century demonstrate a gradual shift in the visual schema used to portray the look and feel of Dutch cities. The observable trend is that images from the sixteenth century rely on a generalized, topographical view of Dutch cities that suggest a greater

physical and personal distance between author and subject, and ultimately a greater distance between the viewer and subject.

The vantage point of each of the 1567, 1582 and 1612 images emphasize a personal and intellectual distance from the life and activities of the Netherlands experienced by its author, and ultimately the viewer. Visscher's 1612 image of the Amsterdam Stock Exchange is seen from above, giving the viewer a bird's eye view. The viewer is outside of time and without place as the Exchange is presented from a distance, rather than inviting the viewer in at street level. The closest that the image comes to achieving some sense of direct urban connection is Hooft's author credit at the end of his poem praising the "artful" activity of the Exchange, it reads "P.C. Hooft, Amsterdammer." Poems by Hooft and illustrations by Claes Visscher grant the reader and viewer some modicum of personal connection to the locations described. Over time, this distance between author, viewer and the city is closed, becoming more intimately communicentric: that is, emphasizing the nature and the distinctive character of the inhabitants of this region.

Guicciardini's deficit is Ampzing's achievement. The combination of Ampzing's text with Saenredam's image in the 1628 publication of *Beschrijvinge ende lof der stad Haerlem in Holland* provides a level of experiential exactness, and social and spatial specificity that connects author and reader. Combining observation with visualization, the poem addresses the viewer directly as part of a community of which the author is also a part.[103] As Ampzing describes the St. Bavokerk, Saenredam's visual description of the scene puts the viewer at nearly the same ground line as the figures that meander through, evoking a feeling of unity that is absent in prior descriptions such as those by Guicciardini. The inclusion of a figure displaying the crest of Count Willem II presumes not only the viewer's familiarity with its iconography, but also his or

[103] Catherine Levesque, *Journey through Landscape in Seventeenth-Century Holland: The Haarlem Print Series and Dutch Identity,* University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994 11.

her intimacy with the sights, sounds and historical significance of the Grote Markt. This technique of hailing the viewer into a shared collectivity for the purposes of persuasiveness has classical origins, but is transformed by 16th and 17th century poets and authors. For example, Erasmus suggests that humanist authors use this technique, called e*nargeia*, whenever "we do not explain a thing simply, but display it to be looked at as if it were represented in color in a picture, so that it may seem that we have painted, not narrated, and the reader has seen, not read."[104] This complex form of multidimensional description allows the viewer to participate in the experience of "being there." This effect of "being there" is achieved by folding into textual and visual schema a technique long utilized by landscape artists.

"Being in" the Landscape at the End of The Sixteenth Century

Landscapes depicting Northern and Southern European vistas have included self-portraits of the artist to provide artistic authenticity since at least the middle of the 16th century. In ca.1576 the Italian artist Federico Zuccari produced "Forest Near Vallombrosa with Self-Portrait as Draughtsman," (Graphische Sammlung Albertina; fig. 2.12) and in 1593 Lucas van Valckenborch sketched the landscape surrounding an Austrian town titled "View of Linz" (fig. 2.13). In each case, the sketches situate the artist along the drawing's outermost borders, between the viewer and the centrality of the scene. In most cases, these *vedutas*, or "views" in the Italian tradition of landscapes and town views, serve as little more than preparatory studies for subsequent easel paintings. While these self-portraits rarely make their way into the finished paintings, the inclusion of the artist documents the viewing position from which the scene was viewed, to attest to its geographic and spatial accuracy.

[104] Levesque, *Journey through Landscape in Seventeenth-Century Holland,* 12.

Artists themselves were particularly attuned to this visual motif. For example, Joris Hoefnagel made copies of drawings by both Pieter Breughel and Valckenborch where self-portraits appear, making only subtle modifications to the details of the originals.[105] The precise reason for copying these images is unknown, but it illustrates the diffusion of the subjective thematic frame and its impact on other artists who paid close attention and appear to have considered the deeper experiential implications of using just such a device. Placing an avatar in the scene serves to identify a specific landscape with more precision than general landscapes and also focuses the implied narrative of the scene to one of an individual experience of the world.

Although rarer, landscape paintings of the period sometimes also include self-portraits meant to mark them as *vedute*. Lucas van Valckenborch's sketched *veduta "*View of Linz 1593*"* was executed in preparation for the painting of the same name (The Städel Museum, Frankfurt; fig. 2.14). Just a few years prior, in 1590, Valckenborch painted "Angler at Woodland Mere" (Kunsthistorisches Museum; fig. 2.15). And sometime between 1590 and 1593, the artist produced a painting called "The emperor walking in the woods near Neugebäude Palace," a painting that depicts Holy Roman Emperor Matthias, for whom Valckenborch was employed as

[105] Matthias Winner, "Vedute in Flemish Landscape Drawings of the 16th Century," in *Netherlandish Mannerism: Papers Given at a Symposium in Nationalmuseum Stockholm, September 21-22, 1984*, Gorel Cavalli-Bjorkman, ed., Stockholm, Sweden: Nationalmuseum (1985), 85-96. Small devices used to authenticate the artist's physical presence in the taking in of a scene have been present in various drawings depicting landscapes and some townscapes for quite some time. The fact that these appear initially in drawings is significant because they suggest a more utilitarian documentary quality that, for a time, was not felt to be appropriate for finished paintings intended for sale on an open art market. The specific reason for this seems illusive, but it stands to reason that, aside from serving as study notes intended for later paintings, such drawings serve a commercial desire different from finished paintings. Drawings are the products of travel, an indeed travel themselves. Thus, the value they provide for period collectors is likely much different than the more static nature of a finished painting intended as decoration or a conversation piece on a wall or in a cabinet.

On the subject of these authentication techniques, Winner explores a variety of ways in which Flemish and Italian artists have visually vouched for their physical presence in the locations they described. Some, like Valckenborch, include contrived self-portraits, others include written notes proclaiming the artist's presence in a particular place or at a particular time. The point, Winner seems to argue, is that the entire process of creating a drawn landscape or townscape, made of both real and imagined environmental elements, is to present a view as an object.

court painter (ca. 1590 -1593; Kunsthistorisches Museum; fig. 2.16). Each of these paintings contain more or less the same features: a panoramic vista of a wooded landscape that includes a small portrait of the artist tucked into each bottom left corner. In each painting the artist sits pointed toward the vista he invites the viewer to take in. He wears black, save for the white ruffle around his neck and he sits with a sketchpad in his lap, dutifully taking down the unfolding panorama.

Most importantly, he looks back over his shoulder to make eye contact with the viewer. This self-portrait is a metanarrative device that functions similarly to an Albertian *festaiuolo* figure. In *De Pictura*, Alberti directs painters of narrative scenes to include a figure that "informs the spectators of the things that unfold, [or] invites you with his own gestures to laugh together or cry in company."[106] The comparison with the Italian artistic tradition is apt because Alberti suggests that this figure make eye contact with the viewer, establishing parity and urging the viewing subject into the narrative. This suggests that each of Valckenborch's paintings provide a shared space for object and viewing subject to occupy - to gather collectively in the activity of "being there."

The rhetorical gestures typified by Valckenborch are artistic arguments made to a receptive audience in a specific cultural milieu at the end of the sixteenth century. Paintings of the sort produced by Valckenborch signal a shift at the end of the 16th century, where landscapes transition from more narrative uses of natural vistas typical of the northern Mannerist painting into the more precise and subjectively engaged landscapes that developed at the beginning of the 17th century. In later works, wooded environments are pushed into the foreground, inviting the viewer to become enveloped by their leafed enclosure. Artists such as Hans Bol, Gillis van

[106] Leon Battista Alberti, *De Pictura*, Rocco Sinisgalli, trans. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011, 63.

Coninxloo, and Paul Bril all participated in this broad artistic trend to some extent or another. Valckenborch stands as an outlier in one significant respect - the inclusion of his self-portrait.

Allan Ellenius has pointed to Valckenborch's rhetorical gesture as indicative of an important cultural trend that would only become more popular in 17th century landscape imagery. For Ellenius, Valckenborch's inclusion of himself within the trunks and thickets of his landscapes suggests a new relationship between man and the natural environment. As Ellenius argues, the inclusion of the artist frames the experience of the surrounding environment as "a very private experience."[107] Landscape images put the viewing subject on the same ground line as the features of the environmental scene, such as trees, roads and others. Like the analogous evolution of seventeenth-century travel books and their authors, placing the artist within the image increases the subjective point of view by framing the scene as personal anecdote recorded for the benefit of a viewing public. This is what Valckenborch, sketchbook in hand, appears to be doing. With a look over his shoulder, he makes eye contact with the viewer, inviting us to share in this moment of intimacy between the modern urbanite and this natural environment.

While Valckenborch's prints and paintings, and the cultural shift they signal, deal almost exclusively with natural environments, it is the organizational motif he employs that is extended to urban environments of the 17th century for the purposes of relating this same invitation to individual intimacy with the surrounding environment.

Addressing the Viewer as Compatriot

Claes Visscher exemplifies the visual evolution of more subjective renderings of local communities and their architectural environments. Just prior to the republication of

[107] Allan Ellenius, "The Concept of Nature in a Painting by Lucas van Valckenborch," in *Netherlandish Mannerism: Papers Given at a Symposium in Nationalmuseum Stockholm, September 21-22, 1984*, Gorel Cavalli-Bjorkman, ed. Stockholm, Sweden: Nationalmuseum, 1985,109-116.

Guicciardini's *The Description of the Low Countries* in 1612, Visscher published a groundbreaking print series that presents familiar landscapes while at the same time taking local culture into consideration. Visscher's *Pleasant Places* was published in 1611, and owes a great deal to the descriptive tradition established by Guicciardini, but with some significant modern innovations. The series combines traditional landscapes with the emerging genre of the town view by depicting a variety of known structures and cultural institutions that bordered the outskirts of Haarlem. One print indicative of Visscher's overall approach to depicting the areas around the city is his image of "t' Huis te Kleef" (Rijkprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum; fig. 2.17) The artist has placed a monument that would have been recognizable to any Haarlemer in the center of his image: the ruins of a 13th century castle that was once occupied by Margaret of Cleves, the Duchess of Bavaria. Travelers, playing children, birds, and a galloping horse surround the ruins, creating a lively contradiction to the skeletal remains of the castle. By the beginning of the 17th century, this castle would have had deep resonance for the citizens of Haarlem. During the Revolt against Spain, the castle served as a base of operations for the Duke of Alva during his 1572 siege of the city. It was blown apart in 1573, and by 1611 would have stood as a jagged and palpable reminder of the violence experienced by Haarlemers. Visscher's juxtaposition of this monument to death and the carefree scene playing out in its shadow act as an encoded reminder to the city's inhabitants of the costs of abundance and the precarious proximity devastation and prosperity share with each other. To further drive home the point, Visscher has placed a traveler passing a beggar in the scene's foreground, serving as a reminder of how close these two states really are.[108]

[108] In her analysis of Visscher's print series, Catherine Levesque proceeds through a variety of the artist's visual descriptions of the landscapes that surround either prominent yet functional buildings or the ruins of once proud structures. She makes the case that these images combine delightful imagery with the chilling

What the prints and urban descriptions of the first few decades of the 17th century have in common is a stronger inclination to address the viewer as a compatriot in a much larger shared social experience. The discursive allure of Ampzing's description of Haarlem hinges on the reader's own anecdotal experience of the city and its local culture. Prints by Visscher and van de Velde assume the viewer's familiarity with the city's history and an understanding of its significance. Visually speaking, these signals to the viewer seem to be largely iconographical in nature, maintaining a roughly two-dimensional organizational scheme. Some examples of this would be the inclusion of the heraldic seal in van de Velde's depiction of Haarlem's Grote Markt, or his nod to the operating times of the Amsterdam stock exchange as demonstrated by the structure's clock tower. Each of these elements are included on the assumption that the viewer has experienced the city to some extent, and can fill in any anecdotal gaps between the iconographic elements. However, these prints stop just short of employing the full potential of the visual medium's capacity to draw the viewer into the scene in complex spatial terms. Perspectival tricks or atmospheric phenomena are left out as opportunities not yet realized. As paintings of landscapes and city and townscapes become more popular during the first half of the 17th century however, these anecdotal techniques for appealing to the viewer are combined with more persuasive visual techniques for articulating and describing physical spaces.

Subjective Views of the Landscape and the Subjective Experience of the City

The rise in the popularity of city descriptions coincides loosely with an expanding interest in landscapes and city views more generally. After the publication of Guicciardini's *The Description of the Low Countries*, detailed city descriptions rode the crest of a publishing wave

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residue of a violent history not yet forgotten by Haarlem's residents. It may be said that placing these reminders of the flip side of joy, abundance, and freedom front and center encourages residents to never lose sight of these areas as indeed "pleasant places." See Levesque, *Journey through Landscape in Seventeenth-Century Holland: The Haarlem Print Series and Dutch Identity,* 48.

that hit its apex between 1611 and 1640.[109] Prints of the city and its surrounding areas reached the height of their popularity at about the same time, as evidenced by Visscher's *Pleasant Places.* Additionally, period inventories suggest that landscape paintings in private collections jumped by 46% between the start of the century and 1650.[110] E.H. Mulier, Catherine Levesque, Jaap Abrahamse, and others have suggested that the expansion of Dutch cities, more broadly, as well as the third and fourth phases of Amsterdam's expansion, were strong influences on the Dutch imagination, inflaming a market desire for images of the modern city and its surrounding areas.

The impact of this print and painting boom extends beyond commercial concerns. The depiction of geography at the end of the 16th century signals a cognitive and cultural shift in the way that Europeans organized their world and imbued it with meaning. As Svetlana Alpers observes, Netherlanders were partial to maps, appreciative of not only the beauty of an ordered and systematized world, but also the value of the process of cartography as a creative endeavor that was at turns a delightful hobby and a tool of deadly seriousness.[111] In the hands of 16th and 17th century typographers, cartographers, and printmakers, communication and cultural memory became spatialized: knowledge and memory were collected, grouped, and communicated visually. This marks a fundamental shift in the way that information about geography was transmitted.[112] Printmakers and painters at the beginning of the 17th century communicated concepts of culture, society, history and memory in maps by strategically organizing symbols

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[109] Mulier ,"Descriptions of Towns in the Seventeenth-Century Province of Holland," 25.

[110] John Michael Montias, "Works of Art in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam," *Art in History, History in Art*, David Freedberg and Jan de Vries, eds. Santa Monica: The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1991, 350.

[111] Svetlana Alpers *The Art of Describing*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1983, 127, 145.

[112] Levesque, *Journey through Landscape in Seventeenth-Century Holland: The Haarlem Print Series and Dutch Identity,* 7-9. Levesque argues that oral traditions of transmission are slowly converted to print, with long term consequences for how Europeans envisioned the navigable world.

and icons. At a point in history when the fabric of society is expanding and urbanizing, the visual vocabulary of cartography becomes increasingly varied and infinitely more important to the task of socializing Netherlanders into modern urban citizens.[113]

The Dutch proclivity to locate and orient themselves in space extends far beyond landscape pictures and their increasingly conceptual nature. Attaching meaning and identity to the spaces in which people live, work, and travel was fundamental to the maintenance of Dutch economic superiority. On the most obvious level, Amsterdam was a shipping and receiving hub that served as a gateway to the northern European hinterland. Goods were brought to Amsterdam's ports from interior cities like Hoorn, Rotterdam, and Leiden for export. Likewise, goods from the outside world were brought in through those very same ports for distribution into that hinterland.[114] However, there were a handful of specific locations within the city itself that worked similarly as hubs to an economy of information. One of these was the Amsterdam Bourse, memorably rendered by Jan Berckheyde. The playwright Bredero immortalized the Nieuwe Brug over the Damrak as a focal point for the exchange of important news and information in *The Spanish Brabanter.*[115] These locations, among many others distributed throughout the city, functioned as a spatial shorthand for the transference of important economic, political, and social information between merchants, politicians, and citizens. In this way, concepts of identity and knowledge were written into the very spaces people occupied, and

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[113] Levesque adapts Walter Ong's theory about the greater human importance of this visual and organizational development to argue that the landscape print series popular during the first half of the 17th century revolutionized the manner in which people associated memory with the geographical regions they called home. In this way, prints are more than simple pleasantries to pull out during social gatherings, but significant tools applied to the larger process of memorializing and finding collective meaning in the ruins of the Dutch Revolt.

[114] Cle Lesger, *The Rise of the Amsterdam Market and Information Exchange: Merchants, Commercial Expansion and Change in the Spatial Economy of the Low Countries, c. 1550-1630*, Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Limited (2006), 187.

[115] Lesger, *The Rise of the Amsterdam Market and Information Exchange: Merchants, Commercial Expansion and Change in the Spatial Economy of the Low Countries,* 225.

ultimately recorded in prints and paintings. The organization of knowledge into visual media and the use of iconography is employed not only to provide details about environments and the things that happen there, but to organize and convey the details of the world and its specific environments.

Landscape prints and paintings of the turn of the 17th century define the experience of these locations in accord with two things: the recent past and the development of the city of the future. Many of Visscher's images in the *Pleasant Places* print series situate peaceful and abandoned vistas against the backdrop of church steeples and city walls. Likewise, Valckenborch's glance toward the viewer in his sketches and paintings seem to address the modern urbanite in need of a respite from the hubbub of city life. Further examples of this relationship between landscape and city abound at this moment when cities are expanding, developing, and taking on new significance. Visscher's inclusion of ruins associated with Haarlem's role in the Dutch Revolt establishes a binary relationship between fraught past and optimistic present. Taken together, these dual representations of the recent past and the ascendance of the metropolis, further imbue these spaces with their own respective visual languages and types of experiences. Landscapes that combine these two elements set the stage for a new approach to city views. Furthermore, municipal officials and city planners took advantage of the comparative tranquility produced by the Twelve Years Truce to realize the future of the Dutch city.

1609 was an important year for the expansion aspirations of the city of Amsterdam. For many decades since Amsterdam's official entrance into the Revolt against Spain in 1578, immigrants, largely hailing from the south, flooded the city's limited municipal geography. Before long, houses and business were expanding into the the undeveloped, vulnerable lands

outside of the city's medieval gates. This expansion cost the city of Amsterdam in two significant ways. First, taxes were traditionally levied within the city walls, not outside. This meant that the city coffers were starved of revenue from these expanding areas. Second, occupation outside of the city and its protective gates left the inhabitants at risk of potential attack by Spanish forces, leaving the city in a constant state of anxiety. However, the truce signed between Spain and the Netherlands in 1609 allowed the city sufficient time and room to address the problems raised by the occupation of these exterior lands. By 1612, efforts were underway to expand city walls, fortify defensive ramparts, build new ship yards, and essentially expand and remodel a city that had seen little modernization since the medieval period.[116] The ultimate effect was to transform an old city into a physical manifestation of modernity, an example followed by a variety of Dutch cities, from Haarlem to Leiden. The digging of new canals, and the erection of new buildings occasioned new opportunities for artists to describe the feeling of these new, modern spaces, and their bustling social activity. Jacob Vrel was one artist who attempted to respond to changes in and occasional insularity of urban neighborhoods.

The Curious Case of Jacob Vrel

Little is known about Vrel, but much can be said about his paintings. In "Street Scene" (fig. 2.1), the viewer's eye is led by the careful arrangement of buildings along a cobbled path within an anonymous city or town. We observe people gossiping in the street, a bakery stall is open for business, a fish monger goes door to door offering his stock. In this section, I would like to suggest that the paintings of Jacob Vrel draw in all of the rhetorical techniques of city books and landscape prints, establishing a stylistic bridge between them and the fine art of painting.

[116] Jaap Evert Abrahamse, "The Third and Fourth Expansions," in *The Canals of Amsterdam: 400 Years of Building, Living and Working*, Koen Kleijn and Shinji Otani, eds., Bussum, Netherlands: Thoth Publishers, 2010, 20-21.

Vrel's painting depicts the harmonious neighborhood in action. This is the visual appearance of urban social inclusion.

The unremarkable character of Vrel's paintings is what makes them so remarkable. While he painted in a variety of genres, including interior genre scenes, his street scenes are the most mysterious.[117] They follow a rather predictable pattern. The viewer looks down a small anonymous neighborhood avenue, likely tucked within a much larger city.[118] The pictures are sparsely populated as a few people meander about, sometimes conversing, sometimes simply passing through the scene. Market stalls and storefront signs indicate the presence of thriving local businesses. Vrel does not focus on the faces of his figures, as if their identities are merely an afterthought. Occasionally, a man in a white shirt peers out of one of the second or third story windows - he is our only real human contact. In serving as such, his presence draws our attention to the quotidian nature of the scene, and ultimately, the spectacle worthy of our attention tucked within its banality.

These occasional observers hover above the scene of the painting, both figuratively and physically, functioning as proxies for the painter. In another *Street Scene* (ca. 1650-1660; fig. 2.18), located in the Kunsthalle, Hamburg, a figure leans out of a second story window, wearing a white shirt and a brown cap over his stiff blond hair. And in yet another *Street Scene* (ca.1654-1662; fig. 2.19), located in the Wadsworth Athenaeum, in Hartford, Connecticut, he leans out of a third story window, wearing the same white shirt and brown cap. A similar figure appears in at

[117] W.R.V., "Paintings by Pieter de Hooch and Jacobus Vrel," in *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts of the City of Detroit*, Vol. 9, No. 7 (April 1928), 78. At the height of renewed interest in Dutch paintings that developed in the 19th century, Théophile Thoré-Bürger, the art critic largely responsible for "rediscovering" Vermeer, mistakenly identified a number of Vrel's interior scenes as the work of the Delft painter.

[118] The street in Vrel's "Street" from c. 1650 terminates at the blunt and immovable wall of a large church. The buttresses at the end of the street, just prior to the top edge of the painting, are impossible to miss. The sheer size of the church, and the heft of the bricks that compose its imposing structure seem like the sort that would appear in the larger of Dutch cities.

least one other painting, establishing that Vrel includes him as a veritable "type". What is most significant about this is that he is the only figure in these scenes provided full frontality. The entirety of his face is presented, making his gaze one of the potential objects of our gaze - we watch him watching. Linda Stone-Ferrier has argued that the slightly elevated position of the painting's composition suggests our parity with the white-shirted observer. If he surveys the scene below from the observational remove of a home's window, then it stands to reason that the viewer occupies a very similar perch. Thus we are all neighbors in this same community.[119] Ultimately, he functions as both a surrogate for the painter and the viewer.[120] However, I would like to expand her reading of this man's role in Vrel's paintings to set these paintings within the larger continuum of the pictorial migration of scenes of environmental and social interconnectedness from print to paint.

From a narrative standpoint, Vrel's observant figure serves the same purpose of authentication as those utilized in Dutch prints and travel books. Travel books during the first few decades of the seventeenth-century, such as Ampzing's description of Haarlem or Johannes Pontanus's *Rerum ot urbis Amsterdamensium historia* (Amsterdam; 1611), gave the perfunctory grand histories of the author's region, but punctuated them with personal observations and reflections on the culture and political character of the location, essentially an application of the classical rhetorical techniques popular with learned humanists' circles.[121] Providing a personal

[119] Linda Stone-Ferrier, "Jacbus Vrel's Dutch Neighborhood Scenes," in *Midwestern Arcadia: A Festschrift in Honor of Alison Kettering*, Dawn Odell and Jessica Buskirk, eds., Northfield, MN: Carleton College, 2014, 3.
[120] Elizabeth Alice Honig, "Looking In(to) Jacob Vrel," in *The Yale Journal of Criticism*, vol. 3, no. 1, 1989, 48-49. Honig identifies this man as a baker. She argues that both baker and painter share in common their creative trades, making them analogous to one another - the baker bakes as the painter paints. While I appreciate this reasoning behind the capped man's role as Vrel's surrogate, I feel that this can be further fleshed out by taking into consideration the artistic and cultural context of the viewer's implied inclusion in prints and paintings that provide views of natural and social environments.
[121] Mullier, "Descriptions of Towns in the Seventeenth-Century Province of Holland," 24-25.

touch authenticated the description of the city, giving the portrait a timeliness and an accuracy that cultivates a feeling of intimacy with the region. Visscher's *Pleasant Places* print series employs the same rhetorical technique, though visually. His contents page, for example, gives us all of the instruments of the artist: *mahlstick*, paint palette, paint brushes and reference books (ca. 1611; Rijkprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum; fig. 2.20). His personal logo, a fisherman, an obvious reference to his surname, sits under his author credit (fig. 2.20a). He goes on to appear again and again throughout the series. In "Sandvoort" (ca. 1611; Rijkprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum; fig. 2.21), he sits against a fence. In *Pater's Herbergh* (ca. 1611; Rijkprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum; fig. 2.22), a local directs him to a picturesque trail. In *Potjes Herbergh* (ca. 1611; Rijkprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum; fig. 2.23) he sits on a fence as he takes down the scene. And in *Bleekvelden bij de Haarlemmer Hout* (ca. 1611; Rijkprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum; fig. 2.24), he again sits on a fence while bleachers work with their textiles. In each of these, Visscher's "artist" sits in the foreground with his back to us, functioning as our avatar in the scene. This rhetorical figure, a feature in numerous prints, including many by Rembrandt, does not appear in painted secular city or neighborhood views until Vrel's second floor onlooker.

Vrel's attentive spectator offers the rhythm of local culture. While he does not make direct eye contact with the viewer in the same way that Valckenborch's self-portrait does, per the Albertian mode, he does direct the viewer's gaze to the specifics of this neighborhood. The parameters of the gaze Vrel and his surrogate offer are relatively limited - he moves through the city and into a neighborhood that he knows intimately. It is this intimacy that Vrel describes for the viewer.

Vrel's paintings convey the subtle specifics of a quiet neighborhood, including the distinctive character of its network of inhabitants. As with most communities anywhere in the

world where neighbors are dependent upon one another for the necessities of community life, security and safety, employment, and social support, Dutch towns placed on their residents certain expectations for the continued protection and smooth running of individual neighborhoods. Community groups, or *gebuyrten*, were organized and run by elected members of the district to keep the peace and oversee local matters that were deemed below the purview of the more official municipal departments, such as taxation and law enforcement.[122] As street vendors, house signs, shop signs, and residents peacefully and systematically fill the streets and narrow alleys, Vrel's paintings serve as an ordered acknowledgement of the social expectations posed by the *gebuyrten*. As Stone-Ferrier has suggested, Vrel has essentially included all of the physical and environmental features necessary to convey neighborly behavior, or what Erving Goffman termed the "ritualized indications of alignment."[123]

As one of the first painters to actively depict the Dutch community environment, Vrel conveys the look and feel of a more engaged ethos of urban dwelling that was emerging in the major sociopolitical centers of Delft, Haarlem, and Amsterdam. Following its attack and capture by Spanish forces in 1572, the city of Haarlem began to rebuild and expand. From 1580 to 1630, the city utilized this period of reconstruction to reinvigorate a shared sense of dignity and virtue over the destructive forces of militarism and violence.[124] The paintings produced by Haarlem painters such as Cornelis Cornelisz. and Salomon and Jacob van Ruysdael, contain images of the

[122] Stone-Ferrier, "Jacobus Vrel's Dutch Neighborhood Scenes," 76.
[123] ibid 78.
[124] Elizabeth de Bievre, *Dutch Art and Urban Cultures 1200-1700*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015, 122. The town motto of *Vicit vim vrtus* (Virtue conquers violence) was originally flown on military flags that accompanied Haarlem militias and emblazoned on galleys as they headed out into battle against the Spanish who in 1572 were actively attempting to take the city. Once the Spanish conquered the city and then were ultimately driven out, Haarlemers repurposed the motto as an emblem of pride.

city and its surrounding landscapes that convey the idea of proactive virtue. In this they parallel the civic discourses concerning the city's sense of purpose and visions for its future.

The city of Delft similarly experienced a boom in artistic evocations of the city with a focus on an ethos of proactive inclusion. Following its designation by William the Silent as a defensible headquarters of the Revolt in 1572, the city was the subject of various expansion and architectural projects that attempted to capture the grandeur of Delft's reputation and celebrate the contributions of some of its more legendary residents.[125] Like landscape painters and printmakers in Haarlem, painters in Delft seem to have gone to great lengths to connect the architectural spaces of the city to some aspect of the culture dwelling within. Painters like Egbert van der Poel, Carel Fabritius, and Daniel Vosmaer are among the earliest to devote canvases to Delft's streets and outlying areas, producing some of the first townscapes.[126]

These events and cities birthed an entire generation of painters who found the soul of their home region not in the grand legends of dukes, kings, and landed aristocrats, but in the quiet solemnity of family homes and the productive thrum of busy and modern city streets. Theirs was an art for a new age that found inspiration not just in its past, but in the present - in the hands of the politically and economically empowered citizens who occupied those homes and

[125] de Bievre, *Dutch Art and Urban Cultures 1200-1700*, 173-174. As a particular example illustrative of how deeply the city's commitment to proactive civic engagement and community participation ran in Delft, Bievre points to a new portal to the "distinguished school" installed in 1616 and designed by Hendrick de Keyser. In the portal's keystone, de Keyser included a stylized Greek Y, or upsilon. This Pythagorean letter was intended to symbolize the coming together of the two roads of virtue and vice into an organized, unified, and ultimately strengthened road of collective stability. As an emblem to the city's pupils as they entered the school, their expected contribution to the city was doubtless made clear.

[126] Walter Liedtke, *Vermeer and the Delft School*, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001, 114-115. Liedtke is quick to point out that, while some historians have lumped these artists in together as the earliest to paint this sort of image, van der Poel and Vosmaer focussed less on the city itself and more on the gunpowder explosion that leveled its Doelenkwartier district. However, his assertion that each painter's "subjective approach" to the scene, to my mind, keeps these pictures firmly within the tradition that this project is attempting to outline.

filled those streets. These painters privileged the citizen's subjective experience of the city, where views were depicted along streets, from windows and doorways.

Part of the difficulty of engaging Vrel is the lack of geographic specificity in his paintings, as well as their stiff, unsophisticated appearance. His street scenes are subjective to the point that no definable landmarks or specific architectural features exist to allow historians to pin point his precise location. The generalized nature of his figures - the anonymous nature of men and women's clothing, the unremarkable activities they engage in - provide very few regional clues.[127] Furthermore, it is nearly impossible to read a discussion or description of Vrel's paintings without being made acutely aware of the crude nature of his compositions. Michiel Kersten draws the reader's attention to the nuance and realism that characterizes Vrel's contemporaries, a series of qualities that make them infinitely superior by comparison. He likens Vrel's figures to emotionally-empty puppets, making for a "clumsy, almost naive impression."[128] Elizabeth Honig summarizes the typical Vrel painting as containing "substances without shadow, subjects without objects of desire, exchange, belonging, the people who claim no psychological space."[129] However, the rough, stiff character of Vrel's paintings may be their most socially-significant feature. Whether deliberately crafted or not, I would argue that the lack of sophistication lends his images an intimacy and artistic spontaneity that is unattached to any

[127] That is not to say that historians have ignored the mystery of Vrel's location. In Walter Liedtke's *Vermeer and the Delft School,* the author hypothesizes that based on features such as the look of the neighborhood's architecture and the style of bread sold in the bakery that Vrel may have either been from the "Northern Quarter" above Amsterdam or Friesland. The former location would have put him in contact with the Amsterdam art market and its international clientele, 580, n9.
[128] Michiel Kersten, *Delft masters, Vermeer's contemporaries : illusionism through the conquest of light and space*, Zwolle : Waanders Publishers, 1996, 103.
[129] Honig, "Looking in(to) Jacob Vrel," 37.

overwrought posturing. They feel effortless, uncontrived, honest.[130] This approach grants his images a documentary feel that evokes a *feeling* of place rather than a specific *location* within a place. All of this suggests that any meaningful reading of Vrel necessitates a re-evaluation of what we are looking for in terms of his particular approach.

Communicentric and Chorographic Views: A Shift in Perspective

Because of the intimacy of his scenes, we cannot refer to Vrel's paintings as *chorographic*. Images traditionally categorized as *chorographic*, from Blaeu maps to Cornelis Anthonisz's bird's eye view of Amsterdam, are all produced with a topographical precision and attempted position of objectivity intended to describe places as they appear and where they are in space. Vrel's images do not attempt objectivity or topographical accuracy. They utilize a schema of representation that instead emphasizes intimacy and a first-person placement *within* the scene. Service to the subjective experience of an environment over objectivity often means fudging the details. Streets are widened, buildings are moved, and colors are switched in an effort to convey the experience of "being there." By taking these sorts of compositional liberties, Vrel casts his paintings in a different role, assigning them a different function from other images that merely convey descriptive information. Vrel rejects the totalizing tendency of the voyeuristic birds eye view. Employing a subjective, *communicentric* view, Vrel descends into the lively streets of his neighborhood, conveying a view of this world through the lens of community and interconnectedness. It is not enough that the viewer "see" this neighborhood, but that the viewer "know" these streets in all of their social, visual, and aural novelty.

[130] For a comparative example, see Nicola Courtright, "Origins and Meanings of Rembrandt's Late Drawing Style." *The Art Bulletin* 78, no. 3 (Sep. 1996): 485-510. Courtright argues that Rembrandt's late-style "artlessness" may not only have been intentional, but added to their admirable quality by granting them a organic naturalness.

A point of comparison might be the distinction made between vision, observation and understanding that was actively explored by thinkers and artists in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Spanish humanist and Flemish resident Juan Luis Vives attempted to explore the connection between psychology and vision by drawing out the differences between observation and understanding as conveyed by images.[131] In *De Tradenis Disciplinus* (1531) Vives argued that visually articulating what is observed required little more than relying on the base sensory phenomenon of sight. To describe what one "sees," an artist has only to use his eyes and employ the requisite technical skill. Conveying more abstract concepts however, such as community, civility and social responsibility, requires a mental facility and a more nuanced use of visual signification. For example, for Vives, a concept such as the "essence" of God is a much more difficult idea to reduce to visualization because it means conveying not only what can be "seen," but articulating what is felt and "understood;" no simple task.[132]

Vive's exploration is an extended meditation on the classical concepts of *urbs* and *civitas*. *Urbs,* being the concepts of a city's physical attributes, its geographical location, internal layout, and architectural features, is visually analogous to the choreographic views utilized by cartographers and travel book illustrators. Conversely, *civitas*, the concept of the human characteristics and shared social contract that create a community and lend the city its distinctive culture, is analogous to communicentric views found in books about specific towns and cities published for, and increasingly by, the local resident. The second is much more difficult to

[131] While Spanish by birth, Vives spent his adult life in the southern Netherlands. When discussing the relationship between psychology and images, he refers specifically to paintings, something that he doubtless had plenty of exposure to in his home of Bruges. For more see Juan Luis Gives, *De Tradenis Disciplinus* (1531) as translated in Foster Watson. *Vives On Education: A Translation of the De Tradendis Disciplinis of Juan Luis Vives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1913), 41.

[132] Richard Kagan, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World 1493-1793*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000, 108-109.

accomplish because it requires the subtle application of symbols and regional references to stimulate recognition on the part of the resident, conveying "the distinctive character along with the memories and traditions that served to distinguish that community from another."[133]

The visual differences between the two are easily perceptible. Chorographic views employ a "god's-eye-view" of an area where the prospect is taken from far away or up above, totalizing a region into a singular and descriptive whole that includes its geographical context and any prominent structural or organizational features that make it recognizable from afar. Communicentric views do away with any attempts to contextualize by providing a more subjective, ground level view of not just a region, but a specific square or street within a town or city. Each compositional form has its function.

Chorographic views allow for data analysis and instructive comparisons. Produced as maps, this compositional form provides raw data that marries text with image in a way that helps a variety of professionals and hobbyists to orient themselves in space, and it presents a location that can be compared with a grand geographical scheme. This sort of view can make travel books more engrossing and instructive for the armchair traveler. Publishers of travel books preferred this sort of view because it attracted a wide audience with a variety of experiences with the cities profiled, from the inert escapist to the experienced traveler.[134] But what if a viewer needed more than to simply orient himself in space or make entertaining comparisons between the look and layout of his town compared to that of a city he may never visit but would like to vicariously explore from afar? What compositional form was suited for the resident with intimate knowledge

[133] Kagan, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World 1493-1793* 16.
[134] ibid 109.

of a city or town who would like to communicate this information with other residents, or convey this knowledge and affection for the place to others?

Communicentric views provide more detailed information about the culture that inhabits the physical space of the town or city. Depending upon their intended function, communicentric views tell a much different story of the provided scene. *For example, b*etween 1613 and 1615, a Christianized Indian from Peru named Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala compiled an exhaustive 1200 page manuscript detailing the lands, life, and culture of his home of Guamanga. This manuscript was assembled in the form of a long letter addressed to King Philip III of Spain. The purpose of the "letter" was to allow the king to "meet" the people of his town, to get to know them and their culture in the hope that King Philip might be made aware of the injustices experienced by Peruvians at the hands of the Spanish colonizers - to outline the "extent to which 'good government, good laws, and righteous justice' had collapsed under Spanish rule."[135] The treatise de Ayala produced, *El Primer Nueva Coronica Y Buen Gobierno de las Indias*, is a pastiche of written descriptions, maps, and mythological narrative periodically broken up by drawn city views of specific public squares and other locations that feature people going about the business of life.[136] By focusing on the people of this town and the characteristics of everyday life, Ayala "introduces" them to Philip so that he may "know" them, developing an empathy for them.

Claes Visscher's "Profile of Amsterdam" (1611; fig. 1.2) exemplifies the look and the function of both choreographic and communicentric views in the Dutch context. The horizontal band at the top of the sheet features the Amsterdam skyline. The view is taken from far away,

[135] Kagan, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World 1493-1793,* 123.
[136] Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala and Franklin Pease G. Y., *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno,* Caracas, Venezuela: Biblioteca Ayacucho, (1980).

includes recognizable buildings as well as a hint of the surrounding topography, as seen from across the river Ij. The foreground of this band includes a variety of iconographical figures that provide context to the function and self-perception of the city: it is a central trading hub that attracts merchants from around the known world in the interest of investment and profit. The images of specific locations within the city set within Visscher's descriptive text are chorographic. In particular, the image of Dam Square is a market scene that indicates something distinctive about the culture of the city. Visscher does this by showing burghers standing around in conversation, women and children running toward the weigh house, and numerous other people engaging in trade. The point of view is from within the city and on the ground plane of the square. Cityscape paintings of the middle of the century, including those by Vrel, provide this glimpse of culture rather than a the view of a location.

In Conclusion

Citizenship in the Dutch early modern sense isn't about merely observing the life of the city, but actively participating in it. The Wadsworth Athenaeum "Street Scene" puts the viewer just above the cobblestone street where men and women, some selling fish, some simply making their way from one place to the next, fill out the humdrum pageantry of daily life. The capped man in the window is our surrogate within the picture, dutifully fulfilling his role of neighborhood watch, holding up his end of the *gebuyrten* community agreement, as do we. He is not the only figure provided for the viewer to inhabit, however. In this era of a more engaged ethos of citizenship, participating in commercial transactions, traversing the city's avenues, and engaging in the local gossip, is just as important as mindfully policing its thoroughfares and footpaths for good and bad behavior from afar. The men and women on the street are as much a

reflection of our own comings and goings in the city as the capped man is a casting back of our responsibility to police activities for complication and discord.

Vrel's generalized figures carry with them a similar capacity for identification. Without being assigned an identity, Vrel has left this assignment up to the viewer, where the shared backdrop of the city's neighborhood and familiar activities facilitate a process of inhabitation. The initiated viewer sees a mirror reflection in the rhythmic pulse of daily urban life. He or she feels what it is to walk the city's streets, smell the waft of baked bread, hear the chatter of familiar voices and the crunch of feet on loose gravel. The viewer inhabits these people and their familiar activities. It is difficult to prove that Jacob Vrel is the originator of the cityscape painting as we tend to recognize it. However, it is far easier to suggest that his paintings contain many of the requisite visual and psychological hallmarks of dwelling in the modern metropolis.

In this chapter, I have attempted to outline the patterns of design in cityscape images that suggest a subjective experience of Dutch cities. This pattern begins with the subjective turn in popular city description books at the beginning of the seventeenth century, where the subjective authorial tone migrates into the images that accompany such books, for reasons of practicality and tonal agreement. Prints of cities like Haarlem, and their verdant surrounds, published individually, retain the subjective, communicentric presentation of these spaces for readers familiar with these locations. These prints constitute a model for how to convey the distinctive culture of a city that is ultimately taken up by paintings during a period when cities like Amsterdam physically expanded, creating an amplified interest in the architectural environment and its inhabitants. As suggested at the beginning of this chapter, dwelling in a city is often a self-centered experience. In a modern sense, the city experience is not something that is perceived from a distance, but is instead confrontational and subjective.

In the following chapter I refocus this pattern of design to consider specific paintings of Amsterdam. Cityscape painters of the middle of the seventeenth century, the period of the "True Freedom", reframe Amsterdam and its surrounds into subjective experiences of the architectural environment. This will coincide with a greater public sense of ownership of the city and its culture, exemplified by the shift in the rhetoric of the burgher evidenced by writers and theorists like Caspar Barlaeus.

Chapter 3: Laudatio Urbis

> [T]he final good is thought to be self-sufficient. Now by self-sufficient we do not mean that which is sufficient for a man by himself, for one who lives a solitary life, but also for parents, children, wife, and in general for his friends and fellow citizens, since man is born for citizenship.
>
> - Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, 12

Gerrit Berckheyde's *The Nieuwezijds Voorburgwal with the Flower and Tree Market in Amsterdam* (1670-75; Los Angeles County Museum of Art; fig. 3.1) situates viewers *within* the republican, mercantile metropolis along one of the city's wealthiest and busiest canals. Burghers saunter along this lavish portion of the canal as it bends into the background of the painting. They gesture and lean as they make conversation on front stoops on the right side of the painting or consider goods for sale at the flower market on the left side. Merchants unload barrels of beer, potted plants and flowers from barges and flat-bottomed boats moored to either of the canal's quays. The rear of the new Town Hall looms in the the painting's center, but everyone is too caught up in the business of the day to pay it any attention. The affairs of city life unfold at a remove from Dam Square, one of the most iconic socioeconomic hubs in northern Europe. This is not the tourist's view of Amsterdam, but the resident's. We are not looking *at* the city, but dwelling *in* the city.

Mid-seventeenth-century paintings of Amsterdam indicate more than just the appearance of the city. As Henri Lefebvre describes it, the city is at times nothing but "noise. Noises. Murmurs. When lives are lived and hence mixed together, they distinguish themselves badly from one another. Noise, chaotic has no rhythm."[137] In fact, the chaos of the city does not have one rhythm, but many rhythms that regulate the patterns of life. These rhythms are also the

[137] Henri Lefebvre, Lefebvre and René Lourau. *Eléments de rythmanalyse: introduction à la connaissance des rythmes,* Paris: Editions Syllepse, 1992. For English translation, see Henri Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life,* London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2004, 37.

products of life. In his work on the rhythms of cities, Lefebvre locates these patterns in the social activities and the man-made architectural features of cities. Clocks and church bells measure the passage of time and impose a rhythmic structure on the activities that make up the day.[138] People within a city also produce their own rhythms, from the sounds of their feet to the chatter of their conversations. All of these follow regular patterns of silence and outburst, depending upon the time of day and the ebbs and flows of traffic.[139] Houses and streets also display their own rhythms as repetitive structures that frame prominent squares and extend along canals. Furthermore, these structures are the products of human activity that have an author and and audience.[140] All of these features constitute a modern city in the sense that "modern" describes a city that draws visitors from around the post-colonial world in what is an "urban-State-market society."[141] By the middle of the seventeenth century, paintings depicting life in the city utilize numerous compositional features to provide first-person accounts of the architectural, temporal and linguistic rhythms implicit in the urban-State-market society of the modern era. Berckheyde, Jan van der Heyden and other painters imply a relationship between viewer and city that is remarkably intimate, reflecting a direct and engaged principle of urban citizenship. The cityscape painting is itself a complex system of urban rhythms and associations that are an extension of urban citizenship.

In Lefebvre's formulation of "modern" urban environments, the commodity is the center of all aspects of public life. Throughout *Rhythmanalysis,* the author builds his description of "modern" incrementally as he interrogates the patterns of urban existence, coming to a complex

[138] Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life,* 18.
[139] ibid 38-39.
[140] ibid 94.
[141] This description is a synthesis of Lefebvre's use of the word throughout *Rhythmanalysis*. He provides this description piece-meal throughout the work, building a complete, nuanced definition by its end. However, the earliest and clearest is provided on page. 16-17.

and nuanced formation of the term by the end of the work. According to this description, the exchange of commodities prevails over the use of space and the passage and use of time.[142] Commodities and their exchange attract people from afar, such as tourists interested in trinkets, and residents whose market activities follow regular schedules and patterns of communication and travel.[143] Seventeenth-century Amsterdam is both a hub of precisely this sort of exchange and an intentionally regulated and systematized socio-economic environment. The paintings that depict the street-level experience of Amsterdam at this time mindfully include these features of the modern city.

In this sense, Dutch cityscape paintings describe metropolises as ordered architectural spaces that serve the public interest, share language and an urban temporality connected to the transportation and exchange of commodities. With the rising popularity of cityscape paintings in the middle of the seventeenth century, images relay the growing importance of these elements to Amsterdam's attempt to reformulate the look of life and business in the city following the 80 Years' War. More systemized and uniform approaches to public architecture, language and urban timekeeping are also indicative of a flowering of a modernized ethos of urban citizenship. In contrast to paintings produced prior to or during the war, those produced after indicate a preference for a metropolis where most aspects of life are rationally ordered and delineated.

In *The Nieuwezijds Voorburgwal with the Flower and Tree Market in Amsterdam* Berckheyde has applied a number of compositional devices to place the viewer *within* a city that is rational, ordered, productive and safe. From his, and our, viewing location atop the Weessluis

[142] Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life,* 16.

[143] The modern city as a site of economic tourism is particularly important to Lefebvre. He implies throughout that the modern city is a site that attracts people from all over the world, creating a global marketplace. People walk, sit to take breaks, window-shop, they search for things to see and desire to be seen in picturesque squares. 39.

brug, Berckheyde has carefully manipulated buildings and sanitized the quays to produce as idealized a picture of this canal as possible.[144] The canal in the painting's center once marked the defensive edge of the medieval city, but this physical boundary was expanded toward the end of the sixteenth century.[145] This urban extension was a response to the waves of immigrants, many of whom were refugees displaced by political unrest in the southern Netherlands, who flocked to Amsterdam on the promise of higher wages, social tolerance, and, above all, safety. This expansion was added in the 1580's, at the height of the Revolt. It was an ambitious feat, to be sure, but it would not be the last: the expansion project would resume after the turn of the new century. Berckheyde has placed the viewer over the cusp of the past and the future. As the revolt against Spain began to wind down with first the Twelve Years Truce in 1609 and then the Treaty of Westphalia, coincidentally coinciding with the start of construction of the Town Hall, in 1648, the city's future appeared rationally modern, if speciously stable. Overall, popular prints and texts depicting Amsterdam during the first half of the seventeenth century conveyed the attitude of a city whose best days were ahead as it invited new and potential citizens to share in the promise of social and economic bounty.

Berckheyde's *The Nieuwezijds Voorburgwal with the Flower and Tree Market in Amsterdam* is typical of cityscape paintings that were created between 1650 and 1672. While Berckheyde and Jan van der Heyden are the more notable among them, the artists who painted images of Amsterdam between the signing of the Treaty of Westphalia and, as it was described by the poet Vondel, the "French Midnight" of 1672, captured an essence of the city and its rhythms of citizenship that feel comparatively modern in contrast with visual descriptions of

[144] Ariane van Suchtelen and Arthur K. Wheelock, eds., *Dutch Cityscapes of the Golden Age*, The Hague: Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis; Washington: National Gallery of Art; and Zwolle: Waanders (2008), 90-92.
[145] Jaap Evert Abrahamse, "The Third and Fourth Expansions," in *The Canals of Amsterdam: 400 Years of Building, Living and Working*, 2013, 20-21.

prior eras.[146] Like many others, Berckheyde's painting describes buildings, barges and people with an attention to order and rational spatial distribution. In this scene depicting the morning market, even the flower pots laid out for sale in the morning sun are neatly arranged along the quay. The barges that arrive promptly in the morning to bring beer and flowers to this outdoor market are moored to either side of the canal. Each of these elements testify to the organized and communal nature of life in the city.

However, perceptions of the city and its many rhythms are not always celebratory. In his 1903 essay "The Metropolis and Mental Life," Simmel casts the relationship between citizens and city as one that is antagonistic and hostile to the citizen's physical and mental senses. In his view, the incessant assault of the manifold sensory stimuli of the city - the physical and visual density of urbanite migration, the aural blitz of carts and street cars, and so on - pushes one into a reactionary, defensive malaise.[147] This malaise is far from docile, but instead necessitates a building up of one's logic, rationality, and intellectualism. In the modern city, the urban citizen dispassionately scans the environment for potential hazards, impediments to his travel, keeping an eye out for shortcuts and solutions. For Simmel, the warm beating heart of human society has been replaced with an environment that is calculated, punctual, and exact, suggesting that "the technique of metropolitan life is unimaginable without the most punctual integration of all activities and mutual relations into a stable and impersonal time schedule."[148] While this defensive intensification of clinical rationality is done to protect an individual's sense of personal

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[146] Cynthia M. Lawrence, *Gerrit Adriaensz. Berckheyde (1638-1698) : Haarlem Cityscape Painter*. Vol. 2. Ars Picturae, edited by Walter A. Liedtke. Doornspijk, the Netherlands: Davaco, 1991, 63.

[147] Georg Simmel, "Die Großstädte und das Geistesleben," In Bücher, Karl, Friedrich Ratzel, Georg von Mayr, Waentig Heinrich, Georg Simmel, Theodor Petermann, and Dietrich Schäfer*, Die Grossstadt. Vorträge und Aufsätze zur Städteausstellung.* Dresden: v. Zahn & Jaensch (1903).

[148] Georg Simmel, "The Metropolis and Mental Life," in Art in *Theory 1900-2000: An Anthology of Changing Ideas*, Charles Harrison and Paul Wood, eds., Oxford: Blackwell Publishing (2003), 133.

identity, it carries with it the consequence of isolation, where emotional connections shared between people become an unfortunate casualty in the greater battle for personal sovereignty. However, what was for Simmel a menace to human culture was instead the Dutch neostoic's great achievement.

The mode of intellectual rationality decried as cold and isolating by Simmel was desperately sought after by the social theorists, political thinkers and urban planners of seventeenth-century Holland as a response to decades of war. In this early modern city, new canals were dug, streets were widened, and new buildings commissioned by planning committees who approached Amsterdam as a garden to be methodically tended. Knowingly or unknowingly, residents and city officials regulated the rhythms of life in the city. Cityscape paintings are a manifestation of this ethos of the city as protective machine, where punctuality, order, and rationality are seen as dependable elements that allow for the productive articulation of the individual. These paintings constitute more than just a *laudatio urbis,* a speech in praise of the city. They hail to the resident collector to recognize the shared rhythms of modern Amsterdam life, participating in the intellectual experience of "being there," and closing the social circuit where cityscape paintings implicitly situate architecture, language and time as the markers of a new mode of inhabiting the modern metropolis.

The Subjective, Intimate Urban

In *De Constantia* Justus Lipsius lamented his inability to find an environment that brought him the feelings of security and peace that had eluded him as he traveled from city to city fleeing the Spanish and the political violence they wrought. As discussed in chapter one, Languis tells his friend Lipsius that running will accomplish nothing. The only way to find peace, he says, is for Lipsius to turn inward and cultivate the peace he seeks by tending his own

interior consciousness as though it were a garden. When hostilities between Spain and the Netherlands began to cool off during the first half of the seventeenth century, urban planners looked upon the Dutch City with very much the same idea in mind. In their view, the mastery of the interior self could be realized externally by transforming the landscape into physical manifestations of human achievement, architectural rationality and stabilizing order. Paintings that depict the new buildings, canals, and bustling public squares, such as those by Gerrit Berckheyde, evoke this achievement of stability in a manner that goes beyond merely the pride one might have for the place in which one lives. Cityscape paintings mark the achievement of the rational garden that Lipsius so desperately sought.

From the twentieth-century standpoints of Lefebvre and Simmel, the city can be a chaotic and alienating place. But where Simmel resigns himself to the assault, Lefebvre is able to put distance between himself and the city street long enough to become reacquainted with the beauty within the chaos. Lefebvre explains that the cyclical and linear rhythms of the city often go undetected by the people who live within them. The only way to see the patterns within the noise is to detach, to step outside of them and look back with a feeling of distance.[149] He looks at the city like an object inviting thoughtful consideration. His relationship to the city at this remove is like that between a painting and its viewer.

The city elicits a highly subjective experience for the citizen. Simmel argues that "the same factors which have thus coalesced into the exactness and minute precision of the form of life have coalesced into a structure of the highest impersonality; on the other hand, they have promoted a highly personal subjectivity."[150] Simmel's simultaneous phenomena of impersonality

[149] Lefevre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life,* 95.
[150] Simmel, "The Metropolis and Mental Life," 133.

and subjectivity is largely derived from the nature of the industrialized, capitalistic economy central to the modern urbanite's experience of the city. The division of labor coupled with population size, and "the touch-and-go elements of metropolitan life," mean that the citizen rarely interfaces with his or her compatriots and the surrounding environment in any meaningful way. The repercussion of this lack of meaningful interpersonal engagement with the butcher, the baker and the neighborhood caterer is that the citizen turns inward, restricted to his or her own internally subjective experience of the city.[151] This inclination to retreat inward is experienced by Caspar Barlaeus as he strolls Amsterdam's streets, noting that "when I am fascinated by (the buildings') beauty, the busy traffic of the citizens puts me in confusion."[152] Descartes was similarly baffled by the city's traffic, remarking to a friend in 1631 that the Amsterdammer is "so mindful of his profit that, I might live there all my life without ever being seen by anyone."[153]

The Pictorial City Composed

For those who experienced the destabilization and unpredictability of the Revolt, the ideal city is one in which its surfaces, community mechanisms, and municipal government are receptive to individual human influence. To put it another way, the city is successful when it remains malleable to the urbanite's machinations and powers of desire and creation, where institutions and environments register his or her presence. When the outside world was resistant to Justus Lipsius' desire for order and control, he was persuaded to turn inward, to set his desires for control to work in the garden of his mind. Simmel's city has passed the point of this achievement, lapsing back into a state of chaos and resistance to individual human intervention

[151] Simmel, "The Metropolis and Mental Life," 134.
[152] ibid 58.
[153] Elizabeth Alice Honig, "Looking In(to) Jacob Vrel," in *The Yale Journal of Criticism*, vol. 3, no. 1 (1989), 44-45.

due to its size and technological complexity. The stable receptiveness that Lipsius yearned to achieve was the same urban malleability to which Simmel desired to return. However, at some point in the middle, citizenship was bundled with the expectation that the landscape would bend to the force of human will.

This articulation of order upon the urban landscape is exemplified by Gerrit Berckheyde's *The Golden Bend in the Herengracht, Amsterdam, Seen from the West* (1672; Rijksmuseum; Fig. 3.2). The image is an homage to imposed order. Buildings of various sizes step to the edge of the sidewalk where people wander and work. There are no plants or animals, just the architectural evidence of human intervention upon the landscape. Berckheyde amplified the location's sense of order by substituting incomplete or non-existent buildings with other, completed structures, filling gaps and creating a feeling of seamlessness. Liberties notwithstanding, the precision with which Berckheyde has described the building activities on the Herengracht has led Ariane van Suchtelen to refer to the painting as an "exceptional document" that records the details of a moment in the city's development.[154]

Mid-century cityscape paintings adapt printed city views into compositions that celebrate order. Berckheyde produced numerous paintings of *pleinen*, *grachten* and the new Town Hall. This motif can be traced to the late 16th century where engravings such as *The Dam, Amsterdam* by an anonymous artist (ca.1590-1595; Gemeentearchief, Amsterdam; fig. 3.3) centralize the bustle of city life that so overwhelmed Barlaeus. Viewed from the north, the scene emphasizes people buying and selling in the square's butter and cheese market at the feet of the Waag, the old town hall and the Nieuw Kerk. By comparison, Berckheyde's paintings of the same location

[154] Ariane van Suchtelen, "Gerrit Berckheyde: The Golden Bend in the Herengracht in Amsterdam, Seen from the Vijzelstraat, c.1672," in Ariane van Suchtelen and Arthur K. Wheelock, eds., *Dutch Cityscapes of the Golden Age*, The Hague: Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis; Washington: National Gallery of Art; and Zwolle: Waanders (2008), 86-89.

are more deliberately systematic and organized. His earliest view of Dam Square and the new Town Hall presents a similar scene as taken from the west (1668; Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen; fig.3.4). Berckheyde's painting deviates from the prior print by redistributing the mass of Amsterdammers into more visually manageable clusters. His organizational approach to architecture is also more clearly organized in what is a clear break from the prints of the past. This enhancement of the organizational appeal of this painting may be due to little more than a simple change in standing position on Berckheyde's part, but he has organized the Town Hall, Waag, Nieuw Kerk and surrounding buildings into more clearly discernible sections in contrast to the stacked nature of the anonymous print. In many of his paintings, Berckheyde manipulated light and space, selectively moving buildings and staffage, and strategically thinning out street-side trees to craft a rhetorically persuasive visual statement.[155]

One of the defining features of what visually typifies the "modern" urban experience, insofar as it has been described by period writers as well as Simmel and Lefebvre, is the viewing position from which urban culture is taken in and reckoned with. As outlined in the previous chapter, popular descriptions of the Dutch city gained new and sustained popularity when they engaged the city from ground level, where the writer wove into the larger description personal anecdotes, providing discrete moments of subjective engagement with the features of the city and the people that lend the environment its culture and the narrative a greater sense of tangible authenticity. Period poems by Vondel and Ampzing, and plays by Bredero emphasize the specific features of the urban environment that give each of them a sense of connection. Similarly, written works describing the city of the late nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries

[155] Lawrence, *Gerrit Berckheyde,* 58.

posit the same ground level engagement with the city as something that distinguishes it as "modern."[156] In either case, the city is taken in from the inside, and less the outside. This crucial feature sets the modern apart from the medieval conception of the town or city.

City views of the medieval world were something largely taken in from outside, in subtle alignment with the predominant social and political worldview. When local society is united behind a singular figurehead, be it religious, political, or some combination of the two, society articulates itself as a singularized whole that downplays subjectivity in an effort to reinforce an accepted cohesive social hierarchy.[157] The public is assembled under a prince who then falls in line under God. For example, the print *View of Venice* (ca. 1488; The Metropolitan Museum of Art; fig. 3.5) by Erhard Reuwich van Utrecht and the painting *Profile of the City of Gorinchem* (ca. 1568; Gorkums Museum; fig. 3.6) by the Monogrammist Em both depict the city from afar, placing the viewer high in the sky, approximating a God's-eye view. The pictures are undoubtedly "city portraits" in the strictest sense of the phrase. In constitutional republics, by contrast, the strength of the state is derived from the assemblage of individual participation, in the broad Aristotelean sense. As Protestantism spread across Europe throughout the sixteenth century, and various republics followed its dispersal, subjective experiences of the world and its phenomena found sympathetic audiences. Thus, written narratives, pictures, and other popular

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[156] Henrik Reeh, *Ornaments of the Metropolis*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press (2004), 108. Reeh refers to Siegfried Kracauer's *Strassen in Berlin under anderswo* and *Lokomotive uber der Friedrichstrasse* as particular examples where the theorist has defined urban culture as one that is taken in from *within* rather than *without*.

[157] E.H. Mulier, *The Myth of Venice and Dutch Republican Thought in the Seventeenth Century*, Assen, The Netherlands: Van Gorcum & Comp. (1980), 15, 27-28. Mulier describes fateful and instructive meetings between Roman Catholic clerics and local politicians within the city of Venice between 1530 and 1560. Naturally, Rome was organized as a monarchy under the rule of the Pope and Venice was a recalcitrant merchant republic, often a thorn in Rome's side. Therefore, when disagreements about and within Venetian Catholic churches arose, municipal officials became involved, creating complicated confrontations between two world views. As Mulier describes these meetings, "high placed Roman clerics found it difficult to deal with republicans. They complained that discussions lasted too long and that one was never sure exactly where responsibility lay. In addition, the lack of a sharp dividing line between superiors and subordinates irritated men who were more at home with monarchical forms of government."

media focus more intently on the ways in which the environment looks and feels to individual people within those environments. For the citizen of a republican city, the environment that serves him or her best is that which provides a point of individual contact and intimate association with the city.

Wisconst: A Science of Citizenship

Simon Stevin (1548-1620), one of the leading scholars of his time, was shaped by many of the same calamities and struggles with certainty that plagued Justus Lipsius and molded the latter's worldview. Like his contemporary, Stevin was born in Belgium and was forced to flee north to escape religious persecution and to keep ahead of the Spanish war machine. Like Lipsius, he too settled in the growing intellectual center of Leiden following a period of travel throughout Europe. Both men were highly educated contributors to their respective disciplines. When Leiden University was inaugurated in 1575, Justus Lipsius was hired as professor of history and law soon after.[158] Similarly, Simon Stevin joined Leiden University in 1583, entering as a student taking courses in mathematics, astronomy and Hebrew.[159] As a humanist writer and philologist, Lipsius's greatest contribution to European learning and culture was his contribution to Neostoicism, the philosophical system intended for self-preservation as described in his *De Constantia* (1583). While an invaluable and lasting transformation to Dutch intellectual culture, Neostoicism had limited material applications. As an engineer, Stevin felt that theory had its

[158] Jozef T. Devresse and Guido Vanden Berghe, *Magic is No Magic: The Wonderful World of Simon Stevin*, Southampton, GB: WIT Press (2008), 37.
[159] Jozef T. Devresse and Guido Vanden Berghe, *Magic is No Magic: The Wonderful World of Simon Stevin,* 27, 34. Throughout the 1580's many families either voluntarily left Bruges or were exiled, constituting what the authors refer to as a "brain drain." Many of these families included skilled tradesmen and prominent scholars, a number of whom reappeared as faculty or students in universities in the northern Netherlands. It may be worthwhile to mention that Leiden University was proposed by William the Silent, Prince of Orange, as a school intended to educate the future leaders of the new republic. Thus, political change and world building of sorts was programmed into the school's curriculum and its selection of professors and, ultimately, students.

limits, and the only way to overcome these limitations was to put them into practice in the material world. Like Lipsius, Stevin produced a book meant to come to terms with the social and political uncertainty of his context, albeit with more real world applications.

Stevin published *Het Burgherlick Leven* (Leiden; 1590) as an accessible guide to living in the modern world and making sense of its tumultuous political landscape. One of his primary concerns with the book was that his ideas be widely distributed and actionable. Rather than publishing in Latin, as Lipsius had done, Stevin published his book in Dutch, targeting a more socially and economically varied audience. And unlike other texts by Lipsius, such as his *Politicorum sive Civilis Doctrinae Libri Sex* (Antwerp; 1589), Stevin turned to address the citizen and not the statesman.[160] Furthermore, *Het Burgherlick Leven* sought to educate its readers about the various forms of European government, providing an administrative topography intended to bring the reader up to speed on the state of the modern world and its political actors.[161] Aside from serving as a general tutorial, however, Stevin's book also served as an instruction manual of sorts about how to live and conduct one's self in a new and tempestuous age, where the threat of war and instability may arise at any time. For example, Stevin's first chapter contains his instructive description of what it means to be a "burgherlick persoon," saying

[160] Wim Nijenhuis, "Stevin's Grid and the Maurice Conspiracy," in *Early Modern Urbanism and the Grid: Town Planning in the Low Countries in International Context, Exchanges in Theory and Practice 1550-1800,* Piet Lombaerde and Charles van den Heuvel, ed.s, Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers (2011), 60.

[161] Simon Stevin, "Het Burgherlick Leven," in *The Prinicipal Works of Simon Stevin*, A. Romein-Verschoor, ed. Amsterdam: C.V. Swets & Zeitlinger, 1966. For example, much of chapter three is devoted to listing notable rulers and governmental forms from history as well as the present. Each of these descriptions is set within a wider context of warfare and political scheming at the hands of rulers and heads of state. Many of the examples are presented as illustrations of the sorrow and violence that corrupt governments, often monarchies or other autocratic forms, introduce to the realms that they rule.

> A man who so behaves himself in it that the greatest stability and welfare of the community results from it in this life is called a civic person (burgherlick persoon/politicus).And such proper practice is called a civic life (Burgherlick leven/Vita politica).[162]

He applies this term to mean a brand of collective self-determination within a republican form of municipal government where a citizen acts in concert with his or her brethren within the limitations of good, sound, and sensible laws. The ability to do so raises this performance of social accord to a level of civic virtue.[163] This itself is an adaptation of the Italian "vivere civile", used by Leon Battista Alberti in his *I Libri Della Famiglia* (1437) and Matteo Palmieri in his *Vita Civile* (1438). By updating these terms with stylistic nods to other fifteenth and sixteenth-century works on statecraft and government, Stevin's use of the term in *Het Burgherlick Leven* essentially combines the Reason of State genre with the Mirror for Princes genre. Because he is decidedly more concerned with directly addressing the citizen, as opposed to a sovereign, Stevin creates what can informally be described as a Mirror for Citizens genre.[164] The significance of this text is that it draws on the traditions of prior generations to create an actionable schema to pull regular citizens into a political mechanism that traditionally excluded them. Furthermore, this bundle of old and new ideas was crafted for use in cities of a certain size and municipal complexity.[165] But Stevin did not stop there. In his mind, the city could do more than just open

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[162] Stevin 489.

[163] Catherine Secretan, "Simon Stevin's *Vita politica. Het Burgherlick leven* (1590): A practical guide for civic life in the Netherlands at the end of the sixteenth century," in *De Zeventiende Eeuw,* vol. 1, no. 28, 2012, 8.

[164] Secretan, "Simon Stevin's *Vita politica. Het Burgherlick leven* (1590): A practical guide for civic life in the Netherlands at the end of the sixteenth century," 15-16. In her exploration of this work, Secretan situates it within the context of the popular tradition of the "mirrors-for-princes" genre, arguing that Stevin was well aware of the stylistic tendencies of these prior texts, but wanted to update the genre in two significant ways: engage the citizen directly and provide him or her a simple, practical guide for action that does away with some of the more murky suggestions made in more theoretical books.

[165] Stevin, "Het Burgherlick Leven," 487. He establishes this basic level of municipal operation within the opening lines of his first chapter. While providing the etymology for his use of the word *burgher,* he states that "in order to be protected from any attacks of their neighbours and of foreign peoples, communities have made their strongholds, which they generally called "boroughs," many of which still preserve the name, like Middleburg, Oudenburg, Straatsburg (Strasburg), and many others. […] In order that they may live together in

itself up to the urban dweller, making its mysterious inner workings accessible to the lay person.[166] The city, with the help of thoughtful urban design, could shape the contemporary metropolitan citizen.

Between political and cultural texts like *Het Burgherlick Leven* and more traditional civil engineering texts, Stevin appears to be chiefly concerned with seamlessly integrating the individual into the lubricated mechanism of contemporary urban society. About ten years after the publication of *Het Burgherlick Leven*, Stevin returned to the more traditional concerns of his engineering investigations, but only partially so. *Onderscheyt Vande oirdeningh der steden* (On the layout of towns) was published around 1600 and proposed new concepts about the design, function, and sociopolitical objectives of modern cities.

In the book, Stevin lifts some components of the Renaissance concept of the *Città Ideale*, while making a clean break with others that can be interpreted as a bold stride into some new ethos of civic organization. The Città Ideale, a theoretical concept proposed by Leon Battista Alberti and then built upon by Francesco di Giorgio, conceived of the perfect city as the synthesis of clean, mathematical organization and the centralization of man to create a utopian society. The design conceptualized the city as being polygonal or circular in shape, where streets, alleys, and architectural footprints radiate from a central public plaza.[167] The general idea is that the layout of the city should approximate the radial proportionality of the Vitruvian Man. While the design did pivot on the use of mathematical order, Stevin felt that this application of

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peace, these burghers have certain rights, laws institutions, privileges, old customs, and, stated generally, rules according to which they live."

[166] Secretan, "Simon Stevin's *Vita politica. Het Burgherlick leven* (1590): A practical guide for civic life in the Netherlands at the end of the sixteenth century," 18. It is worth noting that Stevin's justification for making his assessments of the relationship between citizen and sovereign is not tied to any position of rank on the matter, but from practical experience *as* a citizen. Stevin knows what he knows because he has lived as the subject of local and national government. Stevin is a model for modern citizenship that is indicative of his modern era. As Secretan puts it, Stevin "asserted the capability of any citizen to make a statement on politics."

[167] Nijenhuis, "Stevin's Grid and the Maurice Conspiracy," 45-46.

mathematics was too subjective, allying with the general Renaissance epistemology of resemblances. Instead, Stevin's application of mathematical order and regularity harkened back to a more ancient and classical application of mathematics that relied on a universal science of measure and order.[168] This reliance on the objective, rational patterning of mathematics creates an urban design that is not round or polygonal, but rectangular. Stevin's use of hard and certain mathematical organizational statements prompted him to replace the Renaissance epistemological concept of the order of resemblances with that of the *wisconst*. This subtle application of vocabulary suggests a conceptual break with the past that had lasting implications on Dutch cities and social organization.

As an engineer, Stevin wrote a variety of publications on the ordering of various things, from cities to military camp organization and effective troop formation. In many of these texts, he departs from the tradition of leaning on the Greek or Roman terms for "mathematics" to create what was then the neologism of *wisconst*.[169] For Stevin's purposes, *wisconst* was a more precise term that encapsulated an apprehension of mathematics that was more conceptual and existential than just the measure of things conveyed by the Greek or Roman term. As there is no direct English translation for *wisconst*, it can broadly be described as "the art of what is certain."[170] This term brings the science of order, measurement, and arrangement into a philosophical territory that reflects Stevin's, and indeed Lipsius's, own quest for safety and certainty in this period during and following the Dutch Revolt. It is important to emphasize that

[168] Nijenhuis, "Stevin's Grid and the Maurice Conspiracy," 47-49. Nijenhuis's reading of Stevin's break with the Albertian schema of the utopian society is loosely set within a larger context of late-Renaissance and Mannerist popular cultural forms. In his analysis, the paintings, plays and literature of the period harmonize with the Albertian idea of the centrality of man in that the visual trickery of paintings, the dreamscapes of popular plays and literature, and the illusory vistas of gardens elide tactile truth, rendering the world bendable to individual subjective experience, but also quite unreliable. Stevin's aim was to identify a universal truth, an immutable baseline against which all things can be rationally measured and secured.
[169] Nijenhuis, "Stevin's Grid and the Maurice Conspiracy," 47, n8.
[170] ibid 47. The existential implication of this term's use is notable.

while Lipsius turned to philosophical and theoretical meditation to establish his own internal sense of stability, Stevin employed math and science to externalize and materialize his need for certainty. If the world would not provide him safe refuge from the capricious whims of war, he would build it out of earth, brick and marble.

Stevin's ideas were informed as much by his experience of the traumas of war as they were by his close association with Prince Maurits of Orange. At the time that Stevin emigrated from Antwerp to the north, wealthy investors and Dutch patricians were busily investing in the, now legendary, land reclamation projects intended to expand cities then bursting with newcomers from across the Netherlandish borders. Math and engineering skills were a lucrative commodity as lakes and marshlands were drained and existing municipal canal networks were rerouted and modernized.[171] As a young man, and not long after his arrival in Leiden, Stevin received patens for a variety of hydraulic inventions by the Delft municipality.[172] By 1588, and with a number of publications to his credit, Stevin coordinated with the burgomaster of Delft to design and implement a system of watermills. It was around this time that Stevin made the acquaintance of a young Prince Maurits.[173] This personal and professional relationship would become one of the most important of Stevin's life and career.

Prince Maurits employed Stevin as his private tutor in 1593.[174] This relationship provided Maurits with access to an exploitable, and perhaps weaponized, wellspring of knowledge, and Stevin with unrestricted entry into the mechanics of war and statecraft. Just prior to their

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[171] Charles van den Heuvel, *De Huysbou: A reconstruction of of an unfinished Treatise on Architecture, Town Planning, and Civil Engineering By Simon Stevin*, Amsterdam: Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen (2005), 20.
[172] ibid 11.
[173] It seems conceivable that their paths may have crossed at numerous times as both were students at Leiden university for a time, and as Delft had been the veritable head of the Dutch resistance since 1581, both men would have had reason to be in the unofficial capital of the New Republic.
[174] Heuval, *De Huysbou: A reconstruction of of an unfinished Treatise on Architecture, Town Planning, and Civil Engineering By Simon Stevin*, 14.

meeting, Stevin published *Het Burgherlick Leven*, and just after their acquaintance he published *De Sterctenbouwing*, a treatise on military fortifications. Before long, Stevin was accompanying young Maurits on military campaigns, likely serving as both his tactical advisor and personal friend.[175] It seems conceivable that this relationship with the prince provided him with an expanded technical knowhow and a functional outlet for his fastidious attention to order, detail, and structural certainty.

Stevin's meeting with Maurits is significant for more than just the fact of the additional training it provided him. By looking at the texts he published before and after their meeting, there is a perceptible change in how he perceived knowledge and its larger social value. He maintained two streams of thought: one devoted to his practical and professional interest in engineering and mathematics, and another connected to his social and philosophical musings about the fates of societies borne of his personal experience of geographical and sociopolitical displacement. His introduction to Maurits brought these two streams of thought to a unified conflux. Stevin realized that science, engineering, and technology could improve life, and a desire for a better life can transform the malleable materials of the urban environment.

Stevin's approach to architecture and town planning was painstakingly logical. *Vande oridnenigh der steden*, part of a larger collection of texts recently reassembled by Charles van den Heuval under the title *De Huysbou*, offers a glimpse into what is essentially a confluence of philosophical and functional ideas that bring together the engineering knowledge that initially caught the attention of Prince Maurits, and the existential ideas on productive city living typified in texts like *Het Burgherlick Leven. Vande oridnenigh der steden* includes critical designs of the layouts of towns that both separate Stevin from his Italian predecessors and indicate a degree of

[175] Heuval, *De Huysbou: A reconstruction of of an unfinished Treatise on Architecture, Town Planning, and Civil Engineering By Simon Stevin*, 15.

organizational rationalization associated with thinkers like Justus Lipsius. His design for a city plan is a fortified rectangle that is then subdivided into plots of equal measure. Rather than model his design on external phenomena such as the human body, or The City of God, as the Italians had done, Stevin's design is based on nothing more than the rational proportions of mathematics, or to use his word, *wisconst* (Koninklijke Bibliotheek; fig. 3.7).[176] Rather than defer to an outside concept for validation and functional justification, Stevin's design is self-evident and self-contained according to the objective truth of mathematics. Stevin's ordered city ultimately relies on visual suggestion, not unlike paintings, to encourage a certain relationship and regard for the city. Elsewhere in the text, he joins this structural organization with his prescriptions for peaceful metropolitan living in echoes of *Het Burgherlick Leven.*

In a section titled "On the Means with Which Great and Powerful Cities Can Be Created," he explains the value of cities that are themselves self-contained and thoughtfully organized. He justifies larger cities, those with remarkable structures and teaming with people of all social classes, as preferable to smaller ones, so long as they are rationally organized. He suggests that in these large cities

> there is an abundance of all the things in the world, both that which the nature of the country does not produce, as that which does grow there, and often very cheap: in such cities one hears what happens everywhere in the world, yes the foreign things of the world can be found there. Those who have dealings in the court or in one of the supreme council chambers do not have to travel far. Those who want to exercise themselves in letters, have the university close at hand, that is also convenient for citizens who want to bring up their children there, without having to send them out of the country at great expense, this being also the cause of the many scholars that one finds in such cities: further he who wants something artfully made, or wants to learn himself to make it or

[176] NIjenhuis, "Stevin's Grid and the Maurice Conspiracy," 50, 53. Nijenhuis goes on to make the point that this pattern of regularity permeated all of Stevin's designs for various useful things, most interesting among them being his designs for military troop formation. Allegedly co-written with Maurits, these organizational designs begin by laying out the distributions of troops on a field in the broadest and simplest terms. The organizational scheme is then subdivided, focussing inward on each individual musketeer, articulating preferred stance and the positioning of his weapon.

> that his children learn it has many artists ready, since according to the proverb where there is carrion the birds gather.[177]

Stevin's city is complex, detailed, but always efficiently ordered in a way that is not overwhelming so much as reassuring and protective. Furthermore, he suggests that cities like this are in a state of constant expansion, continuously cultivating what he calls the "beste leven".[178] A city's vast size and its continued expansion further reinforce its rational and protective power. He uses urban design to physically and visually impose an architectural rhythm to the city and its inhabitants.

In a few short decades, the de la Court brothers would mirror this sentiment about the relationship between urban size and sociopolitical prosperity. In "The True Interest of Holland," they indicate that

> the duty of the Governors of Republics [is] to seek for great cities, and to make them as populous and strong as possible, that so all rulers and magistrates, and likewise all others that serve the public either in country or city, may thereby gain the more power, honor, and benefit, and more safely possess it, whether in peace or war: and this is the reason why commonly we see that all republics thrive and flourish far more in arts, manufacture, traffic, populousness and strength, than the dominions and cities of monarchs: for where there is Liberty, there will be riches and people.[179]

The size of the city does more than just provide safety and a sense of certainty. In comparison to traditional monarchies, larger republican cities flourish culturally in a manner that Barlaeus suggested was due to Amsterdam's merchant population. Most importantly, this quote suggests that the inhabitants of a city are perhaps its greatest asset, comparable to wealth. The knowledge

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[177] Stevin as cited in translation by Heuval, *De Huysbou: A reconstruction of of an unfinished Treatise on Architecture, Town Planning, and Civil Engineering By Simon Stevin*, 349.
[178] ibid 349.
[179] Pieter de la Court, *The True Interest and Political Maxims of the Republick of Holland and West-Friesland. Written by John De Witt, and Other Great Men in Holland*. London: University of London, 1702, 6-7.

they contribute and the activities they perform honor the city, making it more prosperous. For Stevin, thoughtfully organized cities can aid the citizen's contribution to his city.

The knowledge contained within *Vande oirdeningh der steden* can be interpreted as a hybrid work that attempted to civilize the urban inhabitant into the modern metropolitan citizen. By ordering the city on what can be known for certain, Stevin is shaping the experience of the city, and ultimately shaping the citizen into regularized patterns of behavior and consciousness. In fact, his building plans have a great deal in common with the philosophical strategies of contemporaries like Descartes and subsequent thinkers such as Leibniz.[180] All share the idea that certainty is achieved by starting with the basest, simplest physical or conceptual foundation, whether it is Stevin's squares and rectangles, or Descartes's hints of doubt. By building a foundation composed of all that is objectively true and rational, a scaffold of certainty can be built as an extension.[181] This scaffold of certainty can then serve as the girding onto which cities of objective truth and protective, rational functioning can be built.

The two texts that Stevin produced in the last decade of the 16th century, *Het Burgherlick Leven* and then *Vande oirdeningh der steden*, essentially suggest the citizenship characteristics applicable for a new era, and then provide the ground plan for an urban environment in which those characteristics would be best suited. Stevin combines the Reason of State ideas of Giovanni Botero with the Mirror for Princes genre exemplified by Niccolò Machiavelli, and couches them within the Dutch need for neostoic calm and the stability of Lipsius to theorize a city of the future built in response to the wartime trauma of the recent past. In this way, he has one foot planted in the Renaissance and one foot into a future beyond the wars of religion that typified the period between the Protestant Reformation and the Treaty of Westphalia and the

[180] Nijenhuis, "Stevin's Grid and the Maurice Conspiracy," 52.
[181] ibid 52.

creation of the Westphalian state system. It appears that, for Stevin, the cities of the future were neostoic utopias where logic and reason ruled, where their features and their citizens moved in harmony like clock gears, and the emotional rush to war and destabilization was a thing of the past. Stevin posited the post-Westphalian metropolis as an environment governed by logic and reason.

Another example of this larger cultural endeavor to structure public urban spaces as architectural embodiments of sociopolitical ideology is The Hague. Like Amsterdam, The Hague was a powerful urban center that was expanded and remodeled in the years leading up to and following the end of the Revolt. While its special status as a political center without the municipal rights and status afforded other cities made The Hague the subject of derision by some critics, the totality of its devastation during the Revolt made it an exemplar of structural and institutional recovery.[182] Under the direction of prince Frederick Hendrick (1584-1647), and designs by Floris Jacobsz. van der Salm, the central administrative district of The Hague was designed as a restructured functional monument to republican government and the modern urban environment.[183]

Frederick Hendrick's view of architecture as a vehicle for the shaping of urban identity was intended to transform the center of The Hague to meet the social necessities of the modern century. The focus of his design plan was the central *Plein*, an area of The Hague that had been held privately as the stadhouder's personal pleasure garden and some surrounding areas. When

[182] Maarten Prak, *The Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century,"* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2005), 174-175, 251. This lack of the municipal rights meant that The Hague was derided as "the largest village in holland." And as a "village" it was not protected by the same walls and fortifications that safeguarded cities like Amsterdam from Spanish attack. This meant that the Hague was an easy target for Spanish drubbing, which they brought in the early years of the Eighty Years' War. Nonetheless, its splendor did not go unnoticed. In Ludovico Guicciardini's 1567 description of the Low Countries, he described The Hague as "the loveliest, richest, and largest unwalled village in all of Europe."

[183] For more on this project, see Rebecca Tucker, "Urban Planning and Politics in the City Center: Frederick Hendrick and The Hague Plein," in *the Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art*, vol. 5, no. 2 (Summer 2003).

the use of the land came up for review in 1631, a States subcommittee put forward a plan to sell it off as subdivided housing plots at considerable profit. Before long, Prince Frederick Hendrick stepped in to assert his disagreement, arguing that the land could and should be put to more socially constructive uses. In 1632 the States of Friesland and Holland gave into his request and his eventual design. Design plans discovered by Rebecca Tucker describe a project that combined public use with republican ideology rendered in visual and physical form. In Hendrick and Salm's plan, the land was to be transformed into a public park nestled within the administrative buildings and offices of the royal court and elected officials. The effect of the plan was to reify desire for greater intimacy between public and government into physical ambient form.

What Stevin and Frederick Hendrick have in common is the rhetorical use of urban space. Both designers have, to varying degrees, a core belief that the spaces of the city should communicate to the inhabitant the presence of the ligature that binds citizen to city and that its architecture rhetorically encourages the citizen to behave in a particular fashion. These uses of space make them available for public consumption in some way that casts their underlying methodologies of intent as decidedly modern. In *The Production of Space*, Lefebvre describes two types of spaces, one that is commodified - spaces for shops and other commercial activities that produce economic value - and one that is unproductive and provided solely for enjoyment - public parks and tree-lined avenues for leisurely strolling.[184] In Lefebvre's view, the modern city is composed of public and private spaces that are *consumable*, either in the sense of their being commodities or as vehicles for pleasure. In all cases, these consumable environments are

[184] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space,* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers (1997), 73. For more about how Lefebvre is situated within a twentieth-century milieu with Max Weber, Walter Benjamin, Georg and Simmel, see Simon ParkerParker, *Urban Theory and the Urban Experience: Encountering the City*, London: Routledge (2004), 8-24.

designed to encourage productive navigation and spatial flow. Both the design for the central *Plein* in The Hague and Stevin's theoretical plan for large cities hold these modern attributes in common.

Navigation and spatial consumption are central to the function of painted cityscapes after 1650. For example, Jacob van Ruisdael's *The Dam* (ca. 1660's; Gemäldegalerie; fig. 3.8) does this visually by placing the horizon line low, the weigh house and the Oude Kerk's bell tower climb into the sky and compositional schemes that provide wide foregrounds that extend perspectively into the background with momentary interruptions along the path allow for visual exploration. Saenredam refrains from arranging the features of the city as a static presentation in two dimensions, like a theater stage, as was the case with paintings from before 1600. Furthermore, Albertian *festaiuolo* figures peer out toward the viewer, intensifying our invitation into the scene. The mark of the modern city is the availability of spaces for public consumption. The mark of the modern picture of the city is the availability of the picture space to visual consumption and vicarious performance in the act of citizenship.

An Icarian Fall

The degree to which Stevin's theoretical designs influenced the very real plans of Amsterdam urban expansions is unknown. What can be said with certainty is that in the decades after his death in 1620, many of his texts were repeatedly reprinted and used as references for subsequent engineers and municipal authorities alike. Culturally, Stevin's desire for order and an appeal for rational, intellectual engagement with the built environment and its systems of political relations was of a milieu. The way that citizenship was performed and articulated in the first few decades of the seventeenth century hold in common the idea that systems of protocol and rules for public social engagement privilege objective certainty and the individual's ability to

master their own destinies and reshape the sociopolitical environments around them through sheer force of will. Caspar Barlaeus articulated as much when he told the audience assembled in the Amsterdam Athenaeum that

> wisdom warns against the use of riches to benefit the passions but instead for reason. Wisdom wants those who judged the fortune to be kept very high, be humble in mind. Money should not be a tool for his vices, or a disgrace to the Creator, but extend to His glory, it should not be used for the destruction of others, but must contribute to their wellbeing.[185]

Barlaeus suggests that wealth accrued through Amsterdam's many lucrative industries ought not be coveted or used solely to self-serving ends, but should instead be used to improve Dutch culture and the lives of others. Commerce is both patriotic and a conduit for productive change.

Similar recommendations made by the de la Court brothers in "The True Interest of Holland," coupled with Simon Stevin's views on the importance of creating meaningful spaces within which people may conduct their business, participate in its administrative functions, and generally be productive citizens, suggest that modern creative energies reside in the rational individual, and are no longer the sole domain of God. In the period following the Protestant Reformation and the Dutch Revolt, objective truth and individual engagement are the guides by which to create new cities. In this new era men wield independent creative power.

The elevated valuation of individual human ingenuity and powers of control is observable in images as well as the texts that attempted to describe and quantify the human condition. In the Netherlands, these texts sought to persuade and reassure readers of their own consequence. As discussed in the previous chapter, images, beginning with simple prints and then paintings, took up this argument in visual form. Images sought to argue for a modern ethos of citizenship by

[185] Caspar Barlaeus, *Mercator Sapiens: Oratie Gehouden by De Inwijding Van De Illustere School Te Amsterdam Op 9 Januari 1632,* Sape van der Woude ed. Amsterdam: Digitale bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse letteren (1967), 67.

relying upon a shared system of iconography and increasingly creative uses of perspectival composition. The suggestive uses of these elements become clear when compared with paintings from the era prior to these deliberate investigations of human control and civic agency.

Prior to the jostling of Europe's social, religious, and political systems during the Protestant Reformation, monarchical systems of social management suited the medieval worldview, where a prince functioned as God's representative atop a vertical hierarchy. [186] This worldview is detectable in the paintings of cities produced during the 16th century. For example, the central panel of Rogier van der Weyden's *St. Columbia Altarpiece* (ca. 1455; Alte Pinakothek, München; fig. 3.9) contains a generous view of the Duchy of Brabant. The view of the architectural environment is apprehended from a distance, emphasizing the shape, distribution and geographical context of its buildings. Additionally, the city view is generalized, likely a conglomeration of a number of cities and towns from throughout the Catholic Netherlands.[187] In this panel, the city serves as a backdrop for the pageantry of the Holy Family and its pious visitors. The city is not the subject, but the setting. Furthermore, the culture of the city, or cities, is elided to emphasize the Virgin Mary and Christ Child in a manner that broadly conforms to the vertical medieval world view. The way in which the painting compositionally establishes its relationship to the viewer implicitly suggests his or her position in civil society.

The degree to which the viewer is placed without or within the architectural structures of the city communicates the hierarchical configuration of the city of which he or she is a part. Writing from the position of the post-industrialized, representative municipal urban environment of New York City, Michel de Certeau describes the cityscape from the 110th floor of the World

[186] E.H. Mullier, *The Myth of Venice,* 15
[187] Boudewijn Bakker, "Portraits and Perspectives: Townscape Painting Seventeenth-Century Netherlands," in *Dutch Cityscapes of the Golden Age*, Arthur Wheelock, ed. Zwolle: Wanders Publishers (2009), 34.

Trade Center. He describes the city from this height as a "gigantic mass…immobilized before the eyes."[188] However, there is something alienating and impersonal, or at the very least unnatural, about his view from such a height, where the cultural nuance of the city is totalized into a mass. This mass simplifies the city, and indeed the world, into something placed at a safe remove. The distance brings a feeling of pleasure and satisfaction as something that may have been complex, immersive, and even overwhelming is silenced into something remote and easily comprehendible. From this height, the viewer takes on the role of Icarus, seeing the world from the ecstatic position of a god. This desire to see the world from such an empowered position is as old as picture making, itself. Speaking historically, Certeau says

> The desire to see the city preceded the means of satisfying it. Medieval or Renaissance painters represented the city as seen in a perspective that no eye had yet enjoyed. This fiction already made the medieval spectator into a celestial eye. It created gods.[189]

At some point, however, Icarus must fall and rejoin the earth; or in this case, rejoin the city's streets and be reclaimed by its institutions of politics, culture, education, and economics. If occupying a celestial position above the city turns the viewer into a voyeur, then making the Icarian fall means resuming the role of collaborator. The celestial view creates Gods, but the rational city creates men.

Early modern developments of the concepts of visual perspective, scientific observation, and urban design and planning transformed the fact of the city into a concept. Prior to these developments of the 16th century, as well as the events of the Protestant Reformation that provide context, the city was something that simply was. In the minds and hands of theorists, planners and economists, the city was not an established fact, but an evolving concept, built, bent

[188] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life,* transl. by Steven F. Rendall. Berkeley, California: University of California Press (1988), 91.
[189] Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life,* 92.

and manipulated by men like Lipsius, Stevin, Barlaeus, and the de la Court brothers. As Certeau suggests, early modern applications of perspective vision and prospective vision

> inaugurate the transformation of the urban *fact* into the *concept* of a city. Long before the concept itself gives rise to a particular figure in history, it assumes that this fact can be dealt with as a unity determined by an urbanist *ratio*. Linking city to the concept never makes them identical, but it plays on their progressive symbiosis: to plan a city is both to *think the very plurality* of the real and to make that way of thinking the plural *effective*; it is to know how to articulate it and be able to do it.[190]

Doing was what engineers, planners, theorists and economists sought to inaugurate in the physical public square and in the market place of ideas. The combination of producing texts in common Dutch, as opposed to Latin or French, relying on inexpensive printing processes, and addressing the smart, middle class, but uninformed reader directly allowed these authors and their texts to address the reader as equals. The cityscape painters of the 1660's and 70's captured this activation.

The movement from celestial to terrestrial views, or an Icarian fall, to use Certeau's phrasing, is exemplified by two painters. Cornelis Anthonisz. and Job Berckheyde provide different views of the same city that indicate a shift in the relationship between citizen viewer and his city. Anthonisz's *Birds-Eye View of Amsterdam* (1538; Amsterdam Museum; fig. 2.9) provides a view of his native city from precisely the Icarian viewpoint that totalizes Amsterdam and its surrounding topography into a singular mass. *The Old Stock Exchange in Amsterdam* (ca. 1670; Museum Boijmans; fig. 3.10), by Job Berckheyde, alternatively puts the viewer into an intimate visual relationship with the city's power-holders and their architectural venue. While Job Berckheyde was principally a genre painter, this particular painting is a hybrid that combines the intimacy of a domestic interior with the bustle of modern urban life. In comparison with

[190] Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life,* 94.

Anthonisz's painting, Berckheyde's displays the complexity of social, economic and political life that is undetectable in *Birds-Eye View of Amsterdam.* Because the viewer is situated on the ground and within the architectural structures that house the city's exchanges of financial power, he or she is not an alienated voyeur, but an engaged participant. Via the painting, the city engages the viewer as a member of this group.

Common Ground: Cityscape Painting as Rhetorical Gesture

Speaking directly to the public and to the way in which they saw themselves was an effective technique used by classical orators, and sixteenth-century writers and painters. The Roman senator Cicero understood that in order to persuade a skeptical public to approve certain bureaucratic proposals he had to demonstrate their shared convictions and sense of identity.[191] This technique was taken up by the Italian genre of *laudatio urbis*, or books in praise of the city. Caroline van Eyck observes that authors like the Florentine Leonardo Bruni were less concerned about educating Florentines about their city than in reinforcing a shared sense of identity. He does this by recalling historical events and selectively manipulating language to arouse emotions and a sense of cultural kinship.[192] As van Eyck demonstrates, this classical approach to rhetoric utilized *composito* and *enargia* within a larger whole of *disposito*, or simply that the structural and visual components of a statement's presentation should be strategically organized to create a more persuasive whole. In his *Poetica* Aristotle suggested that this relationship between a thoughtfully ordered whole and emotive rhetoric was as necessary in the visual arts as it was in written or performed work. Leon Battista Alberti extended the classical approach to composition

[191] Caroline van Eck, *Classical Rhetoric and the Visual Arts in Early Modern Europe,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2007), 61.
[192] ibid 62-63.

into painting in his *De Pictura* (1435) by suggesting that elements in a painting should make rhetorical contact with the viewer, reflecting back a mimetic reality that grabs the viewer.[193]

Alberti's approach to creating a "common ground" for the viewer was both figurative and literal. Van Eck defines the concept of the "common ground" as the classical orator's attempt to "creat[e] an atmosphere of shared convictions, interests and emotions, [that] address the feelings and agenda of their audience, and acknowledge the character of their public and the occasion of the speech."[194] As she goes on to illustrate, Alberti utilities this rhetorical technique by integrating a variety of visual tools that extend the fiction of the pictorial space out to the viewer. For example, by including a witness to a painting's narrative, the artist is inviting the viewer to identify with the figures' emotional circumstances. Additionally, linear perspective is used to create a literal shared common ground that bridges the realms of the material space with that of the painting, telescoping one into the other. These techniques migrated north, and then subsequently reformulated, with the publication of *Perspective* (Leiden) in 1604-05 by Hans Vredeman de Vries.[195] In terms of its Dutch application, this set of pictorial principles is evident in Claes Jansz. Visscher's *Pleasant Places*.

Visscher's work combines sixteenth-century-inspired landscapes with the emerging genre of the town view by depicting a variety of known structures and cultural institutions that bordered the outskirts of Haarlem. The way in which they visually articulate an intimate relationship with the areas in and around the city is striking as is Claes's position as an authority about this region. From the series' title page, Claes outlines the specificity with which he plans to

[193] Eck, *Classical Rhetoric and the Visual Arts in Early Modern Europe,* 65-66.
[194] ibid 61.
[195] See Christopher P. Heuer, *The City Rehearsed: Object, Architecture, and Print in the Worlds of Hans Vredeman De Vries*. London: Routledge (2009), 165-210. Heuer describes the uniqueness and revolutionary quality of de Vries' perspectival systems, as well as its function as a very personal artwork.

present this region (1611; Rijkprentenkabinet; fig. 3.11). As Catherine Levesque observes, this page both honors the visual tradition of Renaissance-era descriptive travel books, where personification of various virtues serve as hosts to the information within, and also modernizes the artistic presentation.[196] In contrast to books by his predecessors, Claes's is specific and localized. For example, the customary personifications of Diligence and Temperance are seated now with the name "Haarlem". The landscape extending behind them foreshadows the sights to be found within. They can also be interpreted as Stoic virtues, reflective of the period popularity of Neo-Stoicism as a mechanism for coping with the Revolt. The function of this series is to guide the beholder through the pleasant sites in and around the city. Rather than presenting these descriptions as objective and explicitly didactic, Visscher's approach is intimate and subjective.

The allure of his visual description of Haarlem hinges on the reader's own anecdotal experience of the city and its local culture. These prints by Visscher assume the viewer's familiarity with the city's history and an understanding of its significance. Visually speaking, these signals to the viewer are largely iconographic in nature, maintaining a roughly two-dimensional organizational scheme. Each of these elements is included on the assumption that the viewer has experienced the city to some extent, and can imaginatively insert him or herself in among the iconographic references.

This combination of figurative and literal "common ground" is evident in paintings by Berckheyde and Jan van der Heyden. Berckheyde's *The Grote or St. Bavokerk at Haarlem, Seen from the Portico in front of the Town Hall* (1674; Fitzwilliam Museum; fig. 3.12) is populated with visual devices that establish a "common ground" with the viewer. As Berckheyde has placed the viewer under the portico of the Town Hall, the architectural features of the building

[196] Levesque, *Journey through Landscape in Seventeenth-Century Holland: The Haarlem Print Series and Dutch Identity*, 40.

extend above and below the painting's frame, suggestively extending out into the viewer's physical space. The portico's pillars are symbolic and mimetic of the city's promotion of civic order and participatory government. The doric columns recall classical democracy while the sheets attached to the pillars are public notices.[197] The brushstrokes that Berckheyde has applied to render the columns reach vertically up their surfaces, mimicking the worn texture of the physical material by the catching ambient light of the exhibit space.[198] The Haarlemmers distributed throughout the background and middle distance of the painting suggest the viewer's position in the vacant foreground. Each of these features provide "common ground" that responds to the viewer's emotional connection and identification with the city.

Jan van Der Heyden utilized perspective and symbolism to similar effect. *The Nieuwezijds Voorburgwal with the Town Hall of Amsterdam, Seen from the South* (c.1668-1670; private collection; fig. 3.13) offers a view of the Amsterdam Town Hall from the south. The canal extends out toward the viewer, and the Town Hall is placed centrally, extending skyward. The painting's orthogonal lines reach back toward the Town Hall's cupola, drawing the viewer's gaze down the canal and coming to a rest on the homage to colonial conquest.[199] Peter Sutton suggests that the scene captures the site of Amsterdam's tree market, through not the market itself.[200] The bridge at the painting's center, the Weesluis, is pushed inventively forward. The forward extension of the canal and the forced prominence of the Weesluisbrug implies the

[197] This balcony was used to make judicial announcements.
[198] This painting is located in The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, UK, and as such…
[199] Ariane van Suchtelen, "Jan van Der Heyden: *The Nieuwezijds Voorburgwal with the New Town Hall of Amsterdam, Seen from the South*, c.1668-1670," in Ariane van Suchtelen and Arthur K. Wheelock, eds., *Dutch Cityscapes of the Golden Age*, The Hague: Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis; Washington: National Gallery of Art; and Zwolle: Waanders (2008), 120.
[200] Peter Sutton, *Jan Van Der Heyden (1637-1712),* ed. by The Bruce Museum and The Rijksmuseum. New Haven: Yale University Press (2006), 128.

viewer's own position on a similar bridge, in fact the bridge over the Spui.[201] Like Berckheyde's painting, the vacant bridge and the visual suggestion of the tree market allow the citizen viewer a deeper connection to the scene by opening a rhetorical space in the painting for the viewer to occupy.

Gerrit Berckheyde depicts the same location, but puts more focus on the temporal rhythms of the city. His painting *The Nieuwezijds Voorburgwal with the Flower and Tree Market in Amsterdam* (ca. 1675; Los Angeles County Museum of Art; fig. 3.14) doesn't simply allude to a market site, but depicts its activity, in this case the flower and pipe markets. Although painted at roughly the same time, Berckheyde's painting also differs from van der Heyden's by moving the view further north along the canal, putting the viewer closer to the new Town Hall. The movement closer to the activity on the periphery of Dam Square puts more focus on the temporal regularity of the exchanges that brought people to the center of town. In a version of this painting held by the Amsterdam Museum, merchants unload barrels of beer from a barge (fig. 3.15). The version held by the Los Angeles County Museum of Art shows the same quay populated with flower pots and barrels of beer, after they have been unloaded. Additionally, time and time-keeping are central to this painting's rhetoric. The placement of the shadows suggest the scene takes place from mid-morning to early afternoon. The delivery of flowers and beer to this market emphasize the importance of their strict punctuality: the city enforced heavy penalties to keep deliveries and departures on schedule.[202] Furthermore, "city time" was much more systemized than that outside of the city.

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[201] Suchtelen, "Jan van Der Heyden: *The Nieuwezijds Voorburgwal with the New Town Hall of Amsterdam, Seen from the South*, c.1668-1670," 120.
[202] Jan de Vries, *Barges and Capitalism: Passenger Transportation in the Dutch Economy, 1632-1839,* Utrecht: Hes Publishers (1981), 24.

Urban Rhythms

As Amsterdam grew, becoming a larger metropolis and a more powerful trading and investment center, punctuality and rigorous time-keeping became increasingly important. Merchant barges, such as the one seen in Berckheyde's paintings of the Nieuwzijds voorburgwal, were equipped with hourglasses to help their pilots avoid costly penalties.[203] As Michelle Packer notes, Dutch public transportation, or *trekvaarten*, collapsed time by significantly shortening the travel time between cities (fig. 3.16). Furthermore, the fascination with this development was such that it was the focus of paintings by Hendrick Vroom and others.[204] In fact the tow paths used by the trekvaart system existed since at least the middle of the sixteenth century, but the increased economic dependence on punctuality, combined with a desire for improved safety, prompted an expansion of the transportation network across Holland. This expansion reached its apex in the middle of the seventeenth century.[205] Because trekvaarten networks were built and maintained by municipalities, and not broader, terrestrial authorities, the networks within and immediately surrounding metropolitan areas were far more reliable than other aquatic or coach systems outside.[206]

For Amsterdammers who utilized these services, distances were increasingly measured in terms of the time required for travel. For example, as ferry vessels left Haarlem on the hour nearly every hour, one could be rather exact when planning one's day.[207] However, once people left these urban routes for more rural areas, distances became more vague as departure and

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[203] Vries, *Barges and Capitalism: Passenger Transportation in the Dutch Economy, 1632-1839,* 24.
[204] Michelle Packer, *"Aenschouwer, Siet, Hoe Alle Dingh Verkeeret!" Envisioning Change in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Cityscape,* Dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara (2013), 222-223.
[205] Vries, *Barges and Capitalism: Passenger Transportation in the Dutch Economy, 1632-1839,* 21-23. While some of the transportation canals had existed since the last century, travel had become too unpredictable. Public alarm over drownings and uncertain travel times during the winter months motivated merchants and others to appeal to city authorities for improvements.
[206] ibid 24.
[207] Vries, *Barges and Capitalism: Passenger Transportation in the Dutch Economy, 1632-1839,* 64-65.

arrival times at a given station were generalized.[208] Cityscape paintings provide a visual vocabulary to urban temporality. These visual references notate the regular arrival of goods and people to the public markets of Amsterdam.

Gerrit Berckheyde was acquainted with the reliability of the intra-urban transport network. Although he lived in Haarlem, Berckheyde made daily trekvaart trips to Amsterdam to make sketches that would later help him to produce his paintings.[209] Berckheyde studied the network in a sequence of paintings that, for knowledgable citizens, track the journey from Haarlem to cities like Amsterdam and Leiden. Around 1670, Berckheyde painted *The Zijlpoort in Haarlem* (ca. 1670; private collection; fig. 3.17), an image showing the eastern gate to the city that also functioned as the departure station for travelers journeying to Leiden.[210] Berckheyde clearly articulates one of the horse-drawn passenger barges in the painting's right foreground.The artist would have taken a very similar barge in the opposite direction toward Amsterdam each morning. He describes his entrance into the city through the Haarlemersluis in the foreground of *The Singel with the Round Lutheran Church, Amsterdam* (1697; The Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco; fig. 3.18) from 1697. As Cythia Lawrence observes, both Meindert Hobbema (*The Haarlemmersluis and the Haringpakkerstoren in Amsterdam;* ca.1660-1661; The National Gallery, London; fig. 3.19) and Jan van der Heyden (*The Nieuwezijds Voorburgwal with the Oude Haarlemmersluis;* ca.1667-1670; Rijksmuseum; fig. 3.20) depicted this same entrance into the city, but from the opposite direction: from within the city looking out.

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[208] Vries, *Barges and Capitalism: Passenger Transportation in the Dutch Economy, 1632-1839,* 70-72.
[209] Lawrence,*Gerrit Berckheyde* 61.
[210] Suchtelen, "Gerrit Berckheyde: *The Zijlpoort in Haarlem*, c. 1670," in Ariane van Suchtelen and Arthur K. Wheelock, eds., *Dutch Cityscapes of the Golden Age*, The Hague: Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis; Washington: National Gallery of Art; and Zwolle: Waanders (2008), 70.

Berckheyde's version emphasizes his movement into the city, reflecting a person's own workaday experience of traveling into Amsterdam.

Berckheyde and van der Heyden's paintings of the Nieuwezijds Voorburgwal each terminate at the cupola of the new Town Hall, underscoring the effort to achieve regular, punctual life in the city. If, in the sense of Samuel van Hoogstraten and the Italian art theorist Gianpaolo Lomazzo, colorful paintings can trigger a variety of mnemonic and somatic responses, then the bell tower and its cupola would have contributed a sense of sound to the viewing experience.[211] For example, Thomas Penson, visiting Amsterdam in 1687, described the Town Hall's bell tower as

> placed in the middle of the top thereof, wherein is continually maintained very fine clockwork chimes, which go of themselves at their fixed hours. The small bells hanging round the outside of the tower, which when they go, they play so true and with such brisk airy tunes that they make extraordinary pleasant music.[212]

As something heard throughout the city, but ultimately associated with Dam Square and the colonial and economic contexts of its design and creation, the sight and sound of the Town Hall was a rhetorical statement unto itself. However, the Town Hall was not the only rhythmic sound of the metropolis.

Amsterdam was a panoply of sounds by the middle of the seventeenth century, but perhaps none more encompassing than the sound of language. Verbal exchange between citizens in urban settings have been a feature of collectable Dutch prints since at least the beginning of the seventeenth-century, where the prattle of conversation rounds out the immersive quality of

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[211] Thijs Weststijn, *The Visible World: Samuel Van Hoogstraten's Art Theory and the Legitimation of Painting in the Dutch Golden Age,* transl. by Beverley Jackson and Lynne Richards, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press (2008), 247, 301.

[212] Kees van Strien, *Touring the Low Countries: Accounts of British Travellers, 1660-1720,* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press (1998), 39.

the images. Of course, images of people engaged in conversation are nothing new. Print copies of Pieter Bruegel's *Hoboken Fair,* this one by Frans Hogenberg (1559; Rijkprentenkabinet; fig. 3.21) and Pieter van der Borcht's *On the Ice Near Mechelen* (1559; Museum Boijmans; fig. 3.22) each include people in conversation. However, each instance of conversation in these prints is an isolated vignette among many other vignettes of various types of people engaged in various activities. In these images conversation and social exchange are framed within a larger moralizing frame.[213] In these images, and others like them, the shared conversations between figures are incidental to the larger narratives of skating, gorging or playing games. Prints from the turn of the seventeenth century and paintings from the middle of the century more overtly situate conversation as a feature of civic life.

Paintings by Jacob Vrel, Gerrit Berckheyde and Jan van der Heyden integrate social conversation as important components of a larger whole of life in the city. In Vrel's Getty *Street Scene* (fig. 2.1) a woman converses with two men in the street. A man sells goods to a resident in the painting's background. In the lower left of Berckheyde's *The Nieuwezijds Voorburgwal with the Flower and Tree Market in Amsterdam* (fig. 3.14), people gesture and lean in conversation with one another. In Jan van der Heyden's *The Nieuwezijds Voorburgwal with the Oude Haarlemmersluis* (fig. 3.20), a grain merchant cocks his head in conversation as he hands satchel of grain to a woman standing on the canal quay (fig. 3.20a). In the painting's middle ground two men greet each other in the street; one man bows to the other as he steps off of his front stoop (fig. 3.20b). In each of these instances some kind of verbal exchange is taking place, be it

[213] For more on the moralizing subtext of these images, see Barbara Butts, Joseph Leo Koerner, and Betha Whitlow, *The Printed World of Pieter Bruegel, the Elder,* The Saint Louis Art Museum, St. Louis, Mo.: Saint Louis Art Museum, (1995), 92, 94. The Hoboken image is a moral about the sin of gluttony, but also a satirical response to Charles V's 1559 edict against peasant kermises.

economic or social in nature. However, the language these people use to conduct the essential business of the day is itself a marker of Holland's urban development.

Language is important for community development and social cohesion. It is not coincidental that Simon Stevin, Samuel Ampzing and the poet Vodel all advocated for the superiority of Dutch language in the decades preceding and following the turn of the seventeenth century. In fact, numerous texts published at this moment attempted to standardize the language in some way or another. The reasons for this are largely related to one product of the Dutch Revolt: immigration from the south and the socioeconomic influence it brought.[214] In his book about urban social and political life, *Het Burgherlick Leven*, Simon Stevin opens with an address to the reader explaining that the language of the book shall "conform to present day usage, placing in the margin of the following pages, by the side of certain good Dutch words, their inferior customary Greek and Latin equivalents."[215] In his introduction to *Beschrijvinge ende lof der stad Haerlem in Holland*, Samuel Ampzing praises the superiority of the Dutch language in an essay titled "Taelbericht der Nederlandsche Spellinge" (Treatise on Dutch Spelling). Ampzing felt that Dutch should be protected from dilution by Latin or French loan words.[216] Their push to encourage and recognize a centralized cultural language has a city-specific character that privileges the urban centers that attracted southern residents.

Immigration had a profound impact on the way that Dutch culture articulated itself linguistically. By the middle of the sixteenth century vernacular languages were already beginning to replace Latin as the language of literature and science. New Dutch terms had to be developed to replace Latin ones. This, combined with an elevation of cultural consciousness

[214] Roland Willemyns, *Dutch: Biography of a Language,* Oxford: Oxford University Press (2013), 89-90.
[215] Stevin, *Het Burgherlick Leven*, 473.
[216] Liedtke,"Portrait of Samuel Ampzing", (FH-100), in *The Leiden Collection Catalogue*, Arthur K. Wheelock Jr., ed., New York (2017), 3.

resulting from the Dutch Revolt, meant that more effort was devoted to expanding and standardizing the Dutch language as matter of cultural pride as well as political sovereignty.[217]

Southern immigrants were instrumental to this cultural project, especially those that entered the educational and religious institutions of Holland's largest cities. By 1622 one third of Amsterdam was of southern origin, Haarlem was 50% southern, and Leiden was 67%.[218] For example, Simon Stevin, an immigrant from Bruges, was the first to give lectures in Dutch as a professor at Leiden University.[219] As an engineer who preferred the syntactic flourish of the Dutch language, he took advantage of the inchoate nature of the language by expanding the definitions of existing words (such as *wisconst*, above). He also created new words by translating Latin and Greek concepts, forming new compound words.[220] As a further example, the poet Vondel, an immigrant from Cologne, expressed a preference for the particular accent found in urban cultural centers like The Hague and Amsterdam.[221] His preference derives from an elitist view that perceived rural dialects as inferior. This view of language, while certainly not restricted to the Dutch, casts the *stadsdialecten* (urban dialects) as the dialect of the sophisticated metropolitan. The *stadsdialecten* marginalizes regional dialects as it travels through the routes and circles of social and economic elites, consolidating in the powerful metropolises where these demographics lived and worked.[222] As Roland Willemyns shows, "the people of Holland were

[217] Devreese and Berghe, *Magic is No Magic: The Wonderful World of Simon Stevin*, 201.
[218] Willemyns, *Dutch: Biography of a Language,* 87.
[219] ibid 81.
[220] Devreese and Berghe, *Magic is No Magic: The Wonderful World of Simon Stevin*, 205.
[221] Willemyns, *Dutch: Biography of a Language,* 94.
[222] ibid 154.

taught by southerners, heard southern sermons in their churches and were entertained by southern rederijkers in their theaters."[223]

Expanding the Dutch language united the culture. Ampzing and Vondel used Dutch because it was the most efficient way to address the citizens of a specific area about places and circumstances consequential to them. It also allowed them to claim ownership over certain ideas, concepts and events. Stevin's insistence that Dutch was the language most suitable to communicate social and scientific concepts resulted in neologisms within those areas. As studies of the impact of movable type during and following the Protestant Reformation make clear, standardized languages can be one of the great drivers of modernity.[224] This is particularly true of works of classical philosophy, theology, politics and the natural sciences that were translated and disseminated in Dutch urban centers in the decades following the technology's development. But as observers of urban life, painters were at least subconsciously aware of language's importance to the contemporary metropolis. However, this is not true of all cityscape painters.

Jacob Vrel's handling of neighborhood conversation indicates the artist's ambivalence and our expectation of urban chatter as an assumed feature of the city experience. In the Wadsworth Athenaeum *Street Scene* (fig. 2.20) our second floor avatar observes his neighbors on the street below. In the painting's left a salesman carrying his goods in a satchel leans toward a woman, conceivably to sell her one of his items. In the image's right, however, a woman carrying a shopping basket passes a man dressed in dark clothing (fig. 2.20a). Nothing about

[223] Willemyns, *Dutch: Biography of a Language,* 87.

[224] For more on the social and societal impact of the printing press's development, see Jeroen Blaak and Beverley Jackson, *Literacy in Everyday Life: Reading and Writing in Early Modern Dutch Diaries,* Leiden: Brill (2009), 1-3. He acknowledges modern societies debt to printing, but cautions against simplistically placing the advent of modernity at the moment of moveable type's invention. He complicates this view by suggesting that modern society has less to do with the technological development of the press and more to do with its social applications. The press allowed for mixed media that placed more emphasis on human action and human use of the technology.

their body language communicates familiarity: they both stare straight ahead as they make their way past each other. Aside from these instances, there is no indication of human activity in this small neighborhood street. As Elizabeth Honig has pointed out, the painting has an eerie silence. This silence is made almost unbearable by the complete lack of conversation by the two figures to the right. Jan van der Heyden's *The Dam and Damrak, Amsterdam* (c.1663; Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum; fig. 3.24), by comparison, is bustling with social activity (fig. 3.24a). Like Vrel's inquisitive neighbor, we lean out of a second story window to observe life in Amsterdam's central square. Some people silently wander as they gawk at the activity around them (fig. 3.24b). Other people are paired off, gesturing and leaning in conversation (fig. 3.24c). Still others stop to remove their hats as they greet each other in passing (fig. 3.24d). The effect of van der Heyden's painting is to evoke the complex network of rhythms at play in the city that give it the motion that Vrel's lacks.

Vrel's street scenes are rudimentary attempts to convey social realities that later cityscape painters do with more skill and sophistication. Vrel's paintings omit the specificity as well as implied movement and sounds present in paintings by van der Heyden and Berckheyde. Vrel's figures appear in his paintings, but they do not cast shadows or impact their environments in ways that might indicate their occupation of physical space. In the Getty "Street Scene", for example, some figures face each other without believably gesturing as though having a conversation. Overall, Vrel's paintings do not record historical changes to his city, nor do they attempt to convey economic or temporal movements. His cities are not rational, specific or systematized. The broad dates of Vrel's paintings place them toward the beginning of the 1650's, making them some of the earliest paintings to attempt what we now categorize as a cityscape genre. In contrast, later cityscape painters bring social and economic relationships into their

depictions of Amsterdam and the citizenship that binds citizen to city. While it is unlikely that they did so in direct response to Vrel's early paintings, later painters charted a different path to describing life in the city by integrating a sense of time and history into this newer iteration of pictured citizenship.

While itself obviously a silent, still object, van der Heyden's painting implies the activity, temporality and sound that recall the urban experience. Cast shadows and sales transactions indicate the presence and passage of time in the busiest square in the city. Signs above shop doors, such as the one advertising the city notary, indicate the language spoken by the burghers meandering below. Furthermore, while this painting is of one of the city's most famous venues, the view is uncommon. Like the view taken from behind the new Town Hall in Berckheyde's *The Nieuwezijds Voorburgwal with the Flower and Tree Market in Amsterdam*, this painting rejects the obvious prospect of the tourist or visitor's view in favor of something indicative of the resident's knowing gaze. Who gains entrance to this second floor window? Who pays more attention to the crowds in the street rather than the grandeur of the Nieuw Kerk or the Town Hall? I suggest that a citizen does, and this is his or her view.

Seen from the Window

When seen from the vantage point of a window, the rhythms of the city, architectural, temporal and linguistic, make themselves apparent. In a chapter called "Seen from the Window" Henri Lefebvre describes the affect of modern Paris from the perch of a balcony. He observes that "the interaction of diverse, repetitive and different rhythms animates, as one says, the street and the neighborhood."[225] From this distanced position Lefebvre can "grasp" the rhythms that at

[225] Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life* 40.

one time grasped him.[226] However, there is not just one rhythm in his city, but many coming together, overlapping and imbricating. The city is the convergence of cyclical and linear rhythms, the natural and the social human; and when the constituent rhythms are all taken together they play like a cohesive symphony.[227] But as he says, the observer must first step outside of the daily grind to see the rhythm, or step away from the noise to hear the symphony. "To release and listen to rhythms demands attention and a certain time."[228] In this case, at least the time and attention that it takes to read a painting.

[226] Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life,* 37.
[227] ibid 41.
[228] ibid 41.

Chapter 4: The Logos of the Merchant

> *[T]he chief good of a rational being is fellowship with his neighbours - for it has been made clear long ago that fellowship is the purpose behind our creation.*
>
> - Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations*, Book Five, 85

In a pair of pendant portraits a man and a woman are each seated in front of a window that overlooks the bustling canals of Leiden. She is Cornelia Pietersdr. (1518; Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium; fig. 4.1) and he is Dirck Ottensz., brewer and Burgemeetser of Leiden (1518; Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium; fig. 4.2).[229] The paintings are populated with the markers of their public and private identities. She wears a rosary (fig. 4.1a) and he holds a boxwood carving (fig. 4.2a) that indicate the importance of their Catholicism.[230] The view through the window shows their brewery, located at the intersection of the Gangetje and the Nieuw Rijn. The remarkable specificity of the city view and the assembly of personal attributes in the painting compose an undeniable rhetorical statement about the elements that compose their identities: their marriage, their business and their expression of citizenship.

This pair of paintings is unique in the canon of Dutch and Flemish painting as well as within the oeuvre of its artist, Cornelis Engebrechtsz. It is extraordinary because it incorporates some of the most successful integrations of Albertian perspective techniques for its era.[231] However, it is also the last appearance of a contemporary and topographically specific Dutch

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[229] Jan Piet Filedt Kok, Walter Gibso,n and Yvette Bruijnen, *Cornelis Engebrechtsz.: A Sixteenth-Century Leiden Artist and His Workshop,* Turnhout: Brepols (2014), 151.
[230] Richard Marks, "Two Early 16th Century Boxwood Carvings Associated with the Glymes Family of Bergen op Zoom," *Oud Holland*, Vol. 91, No. 3 (1977), 132-141.
[231] Boudewijn Bakker, "Portraits and Perspectives: Townscape Painting in Seventeenth-Century Holland," in Ariane van Suchtelen and Arthur K. Wheelock, eds., *Dutch Cityscapes of the Golden Age*, The Hague: Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis; Washington: National Gallery of Art; and Zwolle: Waanders (2008), 36.

cityscape to appear in the background of a painting for over a generation.[232] furthermore, these portraits are stylistically dissimilar from any of the artist's typically religious historical work, leading some historians to believe that they were painted by one of the artist's sons or a pupil in his workshop.[233] After this portrait pair, it would be generations before the contemporary Dutch city would again appear in paint in so specific a manner. True, Dutch cities continue to appear, but as fantastical reimaginings that integrate Classical architecture or as the theatrical backdrop to historical events that blend past with present.[234] This pair of paintings was produced just one year after Martin Luther nailed his 95 Theses to the door of All Saints' Church in Wittenberg, prompting the Protestant Reformation, and fifty years before the Dutch Revolt against Spain, two events that transformed Dutch culture, as well as the shape and composition of Dutch cities. It would be 137 years before another portrait would situate a brewer-merchant connected to his city.

Jan Steen's *The Burgher of Delft and His Daughter* (ca.1655; Rijksmuseum; fig. 4.3) revisits Engebrechtsz.'s genre-blending portrait, but evidences new developments in the composition of urban citizenship. Like all portraits, this one is a rhetorical statement about the sitter and the precise manner in which he chooses to self-identify. As a portrait that strongly emphasizes the role of the city in his identity formation, and his expression of citizenship and social membership. Narratively, it situates the merchant as the steward of Dutch culture and self-

[232] Bakker, "Portraits and Perspectives: Townscape Painting in Seventeenth-Century Holland," 36-38.
[233] Walter S. Gibson, *The Paintings of Cornelis Engebrechtsz.,* New York: Garland Pub (1977), 204.
[234] Bob Haak, "The City Portrayed," in Amsterdams Historisch Museum, *Opkomst En Bloei Van Het Noordnederlandse Stadsgezicht in De 17de Eeuw / The Dutch Cityscape in the 17th Century and Its Sources,* Amsterdam: Amsterdams Historisch Museum (1977), 194.

important protector of the city's poor.[235] As an object for display, the painting promotes the sitter's connection to work and generosity on behalf of the city.

Chapter one dealt with the intellectual and literary climate that developed during the first few decades leading up to and following the Peace of Westphalia. Some of the major trends included treatises that advised the merchant classes of Amsterdam to be knowledgeable about the function of government, engage in mercantile enterprises that contribute to the glory of Holland, and to spend their money wisely, conscious of the tightening relationship between *burgerschap* and material consumption. Each of these contributed to the development of the social and intellectual persona of the Dutch urbanite. This chapter evaluates the connection between material consumption and the performance of urban citizenship more closely by delving back into the context and materialistic behaviors of Amsterdam's merchants. I argue that in the Stadholderless period, and when republican politics has accelerated its ascent to significance, the early modern city is integrated more forcefully into how Amsterdammers self-identified. The brought the city into their portraits, and also into the public and private spaces of their homes within the vehicles of cityscape paintings. They turned their homes into spaces of political knowledge.

With his speech to the merchants of the city at the Amsterdam Athenaeum's opening ceremonies, Barlaeus reframed consumerism and material consumption as patriotic and crucial to the expansion of Dutch culture. The transfer of political and cultural power to the merchant classes from the landed aristocracy of prior periods provided the members of this class the opportunity to define both their individual identities and their roles in modern urban society. As Lefebvre argues, these urbanites

[235] Ariane van Suchtelen and Arthur K. Wheelock, eds., *Dutch Cityscapes of the Golden Age*, The Hague: Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis; Washington: National Gallery of Art; and Zwolle: Waanders (2008).

> located themselves by reference to the peasants, but in terms of a distantiation from them: there was therefore duality in unity, a perceived distance and a conceived unity. The town had its own rationality, the rationality of calculation and exchange - the logos of the merchant. In taking over the reins of power from the feudal lords, it seized control of what had been their monopoly: the protection of the peasants and the extraction of their surplus labor. Urban space was fated to to become the theater of a compromise between the declining feudal system, the commercial bourgeoisie, oligarchies, and the communities of craftsmen.[236]

As this transfer of power loosely coincided with the transformation of urban space within Amsterdam through the middle of the seventeenth century, merchants were able to define their identities in harmony with these social and environmental realignments.

The clearest evidence of this trend of self-fashioning and an assumption of the feudal powers of collective defense and social support are the group portraits of regents and militia companies produced toward the end of the Eighty Years War. Bartolomeus van der Helst's *Celebration of the Peace of Munster, 1648, at the Crossbowman's Headquarters* (1648; Rijksmuseum; fig. 4.4) depicts the jubilation that followed the end of the revolt against Spain, situating Amsterdam's wealthiest and most influential citizens as both the success's benefactors and beneficiaries. Helst has paid special attention to the Amsterdam skyline: it is featured in the painting's background, asserting the relationship between city and its illustrious protectors. As Alois Riegl observes, civic guard portraits of this sort almost disappear completely following the end of the war.[237] The hard power of physical protection is exchanged for the soft power of social and economic protections provide by alms houses and orphanages. Adriaen Backer's *The Regents and Regentesses of the Old Men's and Women's Almshouse* (1676; Amsterdam Museum; fig. 4.5) depicts the house father welcoming the city's needy into the home. Like van

[236] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space,* transl. by Donald Nicholson-Smith, Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell (1992), 268-269.
[237] Alois Riegl, *The Group Portraiture of Holland,* transl. by Evelyn M. Kain and David Britt, Los Angeles, CA: Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities (1999), 303.

der Helst's portrait of the jubilant crossbowmen, Backer has included a reference to the Amsterdam skyline in the portrait's background, again grouping the city with the bureaucrats assuming its protection.

However, not all portraits emphasize the wealthy as keepers of Amsterdam's physical welfare. When Stadholder Willem II attempted to attack the city in 1650, it was the obligation of all citizens to rally to its collective defense. In M. Engel's *The Arming of the Peat-Carrier's Guild* (1652; Amsterdam Museum; fig. 4.6), the city's less-affluent peat carriers are shown in Dam Square brandishing what weapons they could afford: swords and spears, far less sophisticated than the firearms wielded by the city's civic guard, but effective nonetheless.[238] While portraits highlighting citizens of this socioeconomic level are rare, pictures of this sort emphasize the degree to which social responsibility was shared in Amsterdam and other Dutch cities.

For Barlaeus, the collection and consumption of material and artistic goods was significant to this process of urban identity formation and the performance and display of urban citizenship. While not overtly intended, Barlaeus encouraged the visual articulation of the merchant's relationship to the city and his sense of duty to its citizens and cultural institutions. For Amsterdam merchants, images were important to their identity formation. As collectable objects, paintings of the city were one capacity in which the urban merchant identity was centered. This chapter analyzes the merchant class in connection to their use and display of paintings as statements of citizenship, including portraits that place the merchant within his city.

[238] Maaike Dirkx, "'In all their glory': Amsterdam Civic Guards Gortraits – Jan van Dyk and the Paintings in the Town Hall," in *Rembrandt's Room*, https://arthistoriesroom.wordpress.com, 13 August, 2014, accessed October 18, 2017.

I evaluate the response to Barlaeus's charge that the merchant spend money wisely on artistic objects that celebrate and amplify Dutch culture.

This chapter is directed by a few central questions. First, in what way does purchasing and displaying paintings of the city suggest the sociopolitical identities of their owners? Second, how were these pictures used to assert merchant roles in society? Third, how were cityscape paintings used to control knowledge and space? In short, this chapter looks at cityscape paintings and portraits set in cityscapes as social objects.

Constructions of the Self

Historians and sociologists have argued in the last few decades that the concept of the self underwent redefinition during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The redistribution of populations throughout Europe, often prodded along by the currents of religious war roiling through the Eurasian continent during this era, has much to do with this development. Refugees fleeing the southern Netherlands in search of safety and opportunity in the north were welcomed with a surprising level of social mobility. This movement of people, capital, labor and skill was largely responsible for the Dutch "Golden Age," and allowed transplants a remarkable degree of autonomy seldom in early modern Europe. As Ann Adams asserts, Dutchmen were free to break with family tradition by pursuing careers of their choosing, where fortunes could be made or lost by an auspicious marriage or a hasty investment scheme.[239] However, Adams is keen to warn that this early modern development of the self must not be confused with the modern concept of identity. Now just as then, concepts of identity are composed in response to a variety of

[239] Ann Jensen Adams, *Public Faces and Private Identities in Seventeenth-Century Holland: Portraiture and the Production of Community*, Cambridge University Press, 2013, 22.

sociocultural factors that change and develop from one era to the next.[240] For early modern Netherlanders, this context of unprecedented socioeconomic autonomy evidenced a developing sense of individual identity that was characterized as having a greater combination of fracture and fluidity than what we might recognize today.[241] However, then as now, one's surrounding sociocultural environment was central to identity formation. For seventeenth-century Amsterdammers, the collectivism of the urban environment was fundamental to this process.

A Distinctive Mode of Human Group Life

For the twentieth-century sociologist Louis Wirth the diverse and heterogeneous city is both positive and negative in ways that are instructive for a reading of early modern Amsterdam. For one, heterogeneity prompts greater social mobility.[242] However, this diversity also creates varying degrees of instability and uncertainty because while urbanites may know more people than urban dwellers, the quality of interactions and relations is lower due almost entirely to the greater population size and speed of city living.[243] The combination of diversity, socioeconomic mobility, population size and the threat of isolation or alienation means that civic institutions must by necessity play a greater role in people's lives, giving them both a sense of social

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[240] Adams, *Public Faces and Private Identities in Seventeenth-Century Holland,* 23-24.

[241] In his book about the development of the early modern self, Timothy Reiss illustrates this combination of fracture and fluidity with the example of Marin Guerre. As has been retold many times, Guerre was a French peasant farmer who left his town and young family following an argument with his father. After eight years in absentia, Guerre returns to the town, attempting to resume his life, his duties, and his relationship with his wife and family. Following three years, two new children and a long court case initiated by a skeptical uncle, it was determined that this Guerre was not the Martin who left town now 11 years hence. But for three years the villagers of Atigat, including Martin's wife and family, accepted this impostor as the genuine article; but why? How? In short, the imposter Guerre's identity was assigned to him by the expectations placed upon him by the stakeholders in his life. So long as he was able to assume the duties of father, husband, son and community member, his identity was not in question. He fit into the community and the rhythms of the community fit him. Essentially, the sixteenth-century self depended upon confirmation of one's identity by the community. See *Mirages of the Selfe: Patterns of Personhood in Ancient and Early Modern Europe,* Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press (2003), 381-385.

[242] Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 44, No. 1 (Jul., 1938), 10.

[243] ibid 12.

belonging and a feeling of unified productive direction. Memberships to different organizations that express different aspects of the urbanite's life and personality, from professional guilds to civic guards, are necessary for a sense of solidarity because city-dwellers are, as Wirth argues, "dependent upon more people for the satisfactions of their life-needs than are rural people and thus are associated with a greater number of organized groups."[244]

Self-awareness of the pleasure and practical necessity of collective social organization was a strategic enterprise. For example, in his treatise "Van de Oirdeningh der Steden" (ca.1600), Simon Stevin proposed the ideal city. In this case, it stemmed from his work as a strategic military engineer under Prince Maurits. As described briefly in chapter 3, Stevin wrote "Van de Oirdeningh der Steden" as a design for the optimal military camp. In his design, troop organization and movements are arranged as systematized and interlocking parts of a larger whole, in what Wim Nijenhuis refers to as "the analytics of gestures."[245] However, as Nijenhuis argues, Stevin has proposed an ideal, if completely theoretical, city (fig. 3.7). This ideal city is in part influenced by mathematical objectivity and the neostoicism of Justus Lipsius, where architecture and avenues are strategically arranged to induce its inhabitants into effective, collective behavior, where the citizens becomes an interlocking part of the municipal whole. In Nijenhuis's overview, population dispersal and traffic flows are similar to troops who are strategically dispersed throughout a camp so as to deploy at a moment's notice with speed and order. Still other thinkers applied this idea in other, less theoretical ways, but maintained the essential idea that in the post-war period, citizens, particularly those of certain social and material means, can be motivated to act with the greater municipal whole in mind. However, this

[244] Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," 12.
[245] Wim Nijenhuis, "The Maurice Conspiracy," in *Early modern urbanism and the grid: town planning in the Low Countries in International Context: Exchanges in Theory and Practice, 1550-1800*, Piet Lombaerde and Charles van den Heuvel, eds., Turnhout: Brepols (2011), 50-55.

constitutes an ideology that becomes a component of the identity formation of the seventeenth-century Amsterdammer.

Given the population size and diversity of large cities like Amsterdam, urban identities are largely defined by people's relationships to others. Of course, it goes without saying that the identities most defined historically were the economic elites who participated in municipal and social organizations that, while theoretically open to everyone, aroused the burgher's sense of self-importance, as well as his wealth. For example, the Regents of the Burgerweeshuis Orphanage owned the city theater, thus anyone paying to see a play by Vondel or Brodero was utilizing the arts to support the orphanage in a manner reminiscent of Barlaeus's address to the wise merchant.[246] Regardless of a citizen's placement on the socioeconomic hierarchy, it was in everyone's best interest to look out for one another. Everyone in the city was co-opted into keeping watch over their immediate neighborhoods in an effort to maintain the peace.[247] The urban citizen's self-identitification as an urbanite was in part constituted around this sense of connection to others and the collective sharing of responsibility.

As intended by Barlaeus, the production and collection of certain objects participate in this process of formulating the urban self. As Ann Adams demonstrates, portraits of notable people in Dutch culture were not merely passive images, but functional objects that "helped to structure typologies of character and society, and in the process helped to shape those schemata."[248] Art theorists, such as Ludivico Dolce (1508-1568), proposed that portraits have the

[246] Maarten Hell, Emma Los, and Norbert Middelkoop, *Portrait Gallery of the Golden Age*, Amsterdam: Hermitage Amsterdam (2014), 105.
[247] Hell, Los, and Middelkoop, *Portrait Gallery of the Golden Age* 50.
[248] Adams, *Public Faces and Private Identities in Seventeenth-Century Holland: Portraiture and the Production of Community,* 56.

ability to affect the viewer, inciting them to desire and satisfy a feeling for public virtue.[249] This sentiment is similarly expressed in period philosophic works. For example, Michel de Montaigne said of witnessing the conditions of others that "the view of another's pains hurts me physically, and my feeling is often appropriated by what the other's feeling…a constant cougher irritates my lungs and throat."[250] As viewers are able to vicariously occupy the bodies and spaces of people they see on the street or in images, paintings of cities or burghers performing their civic responsibilities in the urban realm can effectively hail viewers to respond to a call, raising a shared desire for civic virtue that perpetuates the period belief in collective responsibility and citizenship.

Conditioned to Look

For centuries, European viewers have been conditioned to interact with paintings in very specific ways. For example, in his analysis of the impact of Catholic devotional practices on the production and viewing of religious paintings, Timothy Reiss argues that St. Ignatius of Layola (1491-1556), Spanish theologian and founder of the Jesuit Order, proposed a relationship between devout Catholics and images of Christ that prefigures the perspectival uses of images later proposed by art theorists such as Alberti. In "Spiritual Exercises" (1522-24) Loyola suggests that images of the saints or of Christ and His good works functions as mirrors where the viewer is "offered" and opportunity to see themselves as these figures, taking on their virtue, selflessness and good character.[251] These practices fulfill the devotional charge that such images have been assigned since the medieval period. This effect is translated in Dutch paintings

[249] Adams, *Public Faces and Private Identities in Seventeenth-Century Holland,* 43.
[250] Timothy Reiss, *Mirages of the Selfe: Patterns of Personhood in Ancient and Early Modern Europe*, Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2003, 381.
[251] Reiss, *Mirages of the Selfe: Patterns of Personhood in Ancient and Early Modern Europe,* 390-393.

produced after 1650 and propose a specific genre of virtues to which to aspire: contentment, social responsibility to one's community, and an active contribution to the cultural glory of Holland. Portraits of burghers at home in the city as well as paintings of the cities themselves impel the viewer assume the virtues advanced by portraits and to inhabit the social networks offered by cityscapes.

As described in chapter three, ground lines in architectural images and the application of a visual language shared between the members of a specific community introduce a continuum between viewer and painting. For Alberti, an artist accomplishes this by skillful application of *historia*, or the arranged system of human actors within a pictured narrative that is meant to stimulate the five senses, arouse the passions and, by the fifteenth century, ignite the viewer's intellect.[252] The Dutch agreed intellectually with this connection between images and the stirring of the bodily senses in seventeenth-century works of philosophy and treatises on painting. For example, Descartes suggested that the power of human imagination is linked directly to the haptic senses of the body, where stirring mental images can initiate a somatic response.[253] While Descartes viewed the physical response to pictures conjured in the imagination as a baser response, less useful than dispassionate reason and understanding, art theorist Samuel van Hoogstraten (1627-1678), understood mental images, or *denkbeelden*, to be fundamental to an artist's ability to convey a message.[254] But in keeping with the philosophers central to period interest in Neostoicism, such as Seneca, Cicero and Justus Lipsius, van Hoogstraten believed that the passions of the imagination must be handled with care and moderation. As Thijs Weststeijn

[252] Reiss, *Mirages of the Selfe: Patterns of Personhood in Ancient and Early Modern Europe,* 392-394.
[253] Thijs Weststeijn, *The Visible World: Samuel van Hoogstraten's Art Theory and the Legitimation of Painting in the Dutch Golden Age*, Amsterdam University Press (2008), 134.
[254] ibid 171.

describes, van Hoogstraten connects the passions aroused by the imagination to a person's sense of his or her interior and exterior self.[255]

In van Hoogstraten's discussion of the inner self and the external appearance, he refers to the manifestation of the artist in the style of his works. However, this concept can be extrapolated to any work in which its creator invests himself. For van Hoogstraten and his peers, an artist's character and temperament can be read in his works. For example, Sandraart and Arnold Houbraken describe Adriaen Brouwer's scenes of revelry as products of his rowdy lifestyle. About Jan Steen, Houbraken felt that "his paintings were like his way of life, and his way of life like his paintings."[256] Filipo Baldinucci (1624-1697) connected Rembrandt's 'rough' painting style to his disheveled way of living.[257] This connection between an artist's painting style and his personal characteristics function as a rhetorical statement made by an artist through the painting, but in cases of cityscapes and portraits of burghers performing life and work in the city, the narrative within the painting and the context of painting as object all coalesce to offer a rhetorical statement about city and citizen.

Jan Steen's *The Burgher of Delft and His Daughter* (1655, fig. 4.3) is a portrait of sorts that refracts the artist's biography and those of his family through an interaction between social classes. The dapper burgher sits on the stoop of his house along the Oude Delft. He is flanked by urban emblems of mercy and charitable works: the tower of St. Agatha's Convent sits above his right shoulder, and the tower of the Oude Kerk extends into the sky at his left. A young girl,

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[255] Weststeijn, *The Visible World: Samuel van Hoogstraten's Art Theory and the Legitimation of Painting in the Dutch Golden Age,* 178.

[256] Arnold Houbraken, "Jan Steen, in *De groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen*, 3 vols. Amsterdam (1721) as cited in translation by Michael Hale in *Jan Steen: Painter and Storyteller*, Guido M.C. Jansen, ed., New Haven: Yale University Press (1996), 93.

[257] Weststeijn, *The Visible World: Samuel van Hoogstraten's Art Theory and the Legitimation of Painting in the Dutch Golden Age,* 178-180.

widely considered his daughter, steps off of the stoop and onto the street toward the viewer. She is the only figure in this painting to make eye contact with the audience. A beggar woman, accompanied by a young boy, extends her hand to the burgher, appealing to his generosity for a handout. So far, no one has been able to identify the figures in the painting with certainty, or what this painting's purpose is.[258] Some have argued that it is a fanciful picture intended to impart a moral lesson, in keeping with much of Steen's oeuvre.[259] Others have argued that it is a portrait of a specific bugher, either Adolf Croeser or Burgomaster Gerrit Briell Gezegd Welhouk and his daughter.[260] Erik Jan Sluijter has argued that these theories are incorrect, suggesting that it is a moralizing piece that uses specifics drawn from Steen's life as stock characters. However, this interlacing of the moral imperative about one's civic obligations with people from Steen's like makes this a portrait of sorts that says as much about Steen as it does about the people and the city depicted.

Referencing Sluijter, Marten Jan Bok describes this painting as one that remarks critically upon the neglect of one's civic responsibilities. Sluijter observed that the burgher in Steen's painting closely resembles Steen's father-in-law Jan van Goyen, making his daughter, and Steen's wife, Margriet. As Bok explains, the economic tumult that followed the first Anglo-Dutch war (1652 - 1654) wiped out van Goyen's finances, leaving the family in financial ruin and Steen without the economic safety net that he assumed would support his burgeoning painting career.[261] Following Sluijter and Bok, Steen's painting is a personal criticism of the way

[258] Marten Jan Bok, "Van Goyen as Burgher of Delft? Jan Steen and the Moralistic Mode," in *Aemulatio: Imitation, Emulation and Invention in Netherlandish Art from 1500 to 1800: Essays in Honor of Eric Jan Sluijter*, Zwolle: Wanders Publishers (2011), 344.
[259] H. Perry Chapman, "The Burgher of Delft and His Daughter," in *Jan Steen: Painter and Storyteller*, Guido M.C. Jansen, ed., New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996, 119-121.
[260] Bok, "Van Goyen as Burgher of Delft? Jan Steen and the Moralistic Mode," 344.
[261] ibid 351.

in which his father-in-law and mentor mishandled his affairs: financial ruin has left him unable to provide for his daughter and incapable of upholding any civic obligation to the poor.[262] In this view, the painting is primarily a genre scene, as it swaps Van Goyen's home of The Hague for Steen's more familiar surroundings Delft. Per his standard practice, Steen conveys this moral of civic obligation with the help of stock character types. However, the specificity of large portions of this painting make it hard to accept as simply a genre scene.

The mix of specific persons, identifiable city streets and architectural features suggest that this painting is a very particular kind of portrait. It is conceivable that the beggar woman is not the boy's mother, but instead a representative of the municipal poor relief board assigned to the boy's wellbeing.[263] St. Agatha's Convent housed the municipal poor relief board, whose tower is seen over his right shoulder, further emphasizing the significance of his neglect. As compared to Engelbrechtsz.'s portraits of Dirck Ottensz. and Cornelia Pietersdr., van Goyen is projected against what he does not have and what he can not do for the urban community. For example, his right hand appears to be handling a bag or purse, perhaps an empty purse, withheld from the woman.

The painting is an anxious expression of Steen and van Goyen's responsibilities to their cities that exemplifies the development of civic identities in the seventeenth century. As a stylistic practice, Steen emulated Rembrandt and Gerrit Dou's proclivity for isolating a singular motif as representing a larger whole, functioning as a sort of synecdoche for a wider set of

[262] Bok, "Van Goyen as Burgher of Delft? Jan Steen and the Moralistic Mode," 353.
[263] Arthur Wheelock, "Jane Steen: *Adolf and Catharina Croeser on the Oude* Delft, 1655," in Ariane van Suchtelen and Arthur K. Wheelock, eds., *Dutch Cityscapes of the Golden Age*, The Hague: Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis; Washington: National Gallery of Art; and Zwolle: Waanders (2008), 180.

cultural values.[264] In *The Leiden Baker Arena Oosterwaert* (1658; Rijksmuseum; fig. 4.7), Steen has integrated a portrait of a couple with the genre motif, but focuses in on one element of the baker's activities to represent the whole of their marriage and his community function as its baker. Oostwaert's identities as husband and baker are bound up in his public performance as a member of the civic community: he stands outside of his bakery as a bugler, Steen's young son cast in the role, announces the baked goods to the community.[265] Portraits that situate the sitter in an urban environment create both the identity of the portrait sitter and his identity as intertwined, creating a civic identity.

This message of civic responsibility was somatically conveyed to the viewer by images that depict burghers performing, or even shirking, socially expected behaviors. Because of its mimicry of the process of natural creation, images depicting the human body carried with them the spiritual weight of divine creation. Karel van Mander and Samuel van Hoogstraten both suggest, though with shared hesitation, that portraits that achieve faithful naturalism refer to a higher external truth, granting portraits a nobility that other types of pictures lacked.[266] The relationship between viewer and portrait sitter is one of spiritual connection and physical intimacy. This intimacy is largely due to the shared condition of corporeality between the body of the viewer and the body of the sitter.[267] Because the viewer can physically identify with the body of the sitter, the viewing subject brings to the scopic experience their own knowledge and experience of being "embodied." When the locations and the expected behaviors of the city are added to this visual and somatic experience the viewer inhabits not only the body but also the

[264] Lyckle de Vries, "Steen's Artistic Evolution in the Context of Dutch Painting," in *Jan Steen: Painter and Storyteller*, Guido M.C. Jansen, ed., New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996, 71.
[265] Vries, "Steen's Artistic Evolution in the Context of Dutch Painting," 70-71.
[266] Adams, *Public Faces and Private Identities in Seventeenth-Century Holland: Portraiture and the Production of Community,* 51-53.
[267] ibid 52.

social roles that burghers were expected to perform in the public urban environment. In this way, portraits set within urban environments refer to social conditions beyond the painting. Conditions such as charity, protection and order are evoked in the viewer's anecdotal experience of the cities in which they lived. As a tool, this painting impels the viewer to a higher manifestation of citizenship.

Urban identities are essentially about carving out an individual relationship with the city whereby the individual feels some sense of obligation to the polis and his compatriots. However, this duty can be taxing. Some portraits extend the intellectual heroism championed by Lipsius and the virtue of the garden described in chapter 2. As classical heroes retired to the garden as respite from the duties of governance and military victory, Lipsius, and indeed other Hollanders of the period, needed respite from the anxieties of war and uncertainty. Retire to the garden where you can tend to nature, imposing your own order, deriving a sense of calming certainty in the process. But where does one turn when he is an important member of the urban community? Rembrandt offers a clue.

The Deliberate City

Rembrandt's portraits of Jan Six illuminates the quiet deliberation necessary for the public work of a merchant and civil servant. In his "Portrait of Jan Six" (1654, private collection; fig. 4.8), the artist and his sitter have collaborated to articulate virtues necessary for a career in public service: tranquil calm, deliberation, and maturity. The wealthy son of cloth dyers is placed against a black background wearing a customarily austere outfit, but whose gray attire is suddenly interrupted by a scarlet cloak. The formal quality of his attire and the style of hat he

wears signifies his involvement in municipal matters.[268] The chamois gloves, scarlet cloak, and black hat were often required elements for parade portraits. That Six is making a rhetorical claim about his fitness for public office is readable within the painting. Aside from his choice of clothing, he is also depicted considerably older than his 36 years. We may read in this portrait his long-view of a career in politics. Just two years before this painting, Six began his career as a municipal magistrate, and by 1691 he became burgomaster of Amsterdam.[269] Many historians have remarked on the significance of this painting to both Rembrandt's oeuvre as well as to the overall style of Dutch Golden Age portraiture.

This painting is the first of Rembrandt's pensive portrait style, and suggests how Dutch culture began to frame the idea of the municipal statesman. The lack of any other decorative element in the painting, from personal objects to the details of the room in which he poses, puts all of the emphasis on Six's face as well as what it might tell us about what he is thinking. As he pulls his gloves on, he looks out toward the viewer, not to make direct eye contact, but to gaze off into the middle distance. His facial expression suggests that he is deep in thought, pulling on his gloves as though it were a rote activity, secondary to what occupies his mind. His general condition of contemplativeness is reinforced by the rest of his body's pose. As he stands, he cocks his head to the right, looking back over his shoulder toward the viewer, likely following advice by Carel van Mander in his *Het Schilderboek*. Van Mander suggests that a portrait sitter's head should turn in a direction opposite the body's axis.[270] But Rembrandt is signaling more than good portrait posture. Ann Adams observes that many Dutch history paintings from this period forward contain two elements. The first is that a painting's central character is often caught in a

[268] Luba Freedman, "Rembrandt's Portrait of Jan Six," in *Artibus et Historiae*, Vol. 6, No. 12 (1985), 90.
[269] Freedman, "Rembrandt's Portrait of Jan Six," 90.
[270] ibid 92.

moment of decision, where she of he is thoughtfully considering one among many possible solutions to a problem or event. The second is that as they do so, they crane their necks to one side or the other in a gesture of deliberation. Renaissance authors wrote about the importance of utilizing pose and gestures to convey emotions, like laughter, sorrow, love, and fear, but never mention poses needed to convey a condition of deep thought.[271] The neck turn characteristic of the 1630's and forward may be an attempt to covey what these prior authors neglected to describe: rational deliberation. And about what is Six deliberating?

Jan Six's affinity for and intimate relationship to Amsterdam is unquestionable. Where Rembrandt was cluttered and partial to working in isolation, Six was affable and publicly social.[272] It is just this quality that Rembrandt attempts to imply indirectly in his first portrait for Six, an etching from 1647. In the image (1647, The National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; fig. 4.9), Six reposes in his study, leaning against its windowsill with his back to the open window as he reads a book. Rembrandt had a fascination with this sort of composition for a short time: people perched on stoops or at windows looking out into or away from the city; he is drawing attention to the liminality between states.[273] Six sought to cultivate a public persona as an elegant man of letters, a studied rationalist.[274] The visual rhetoric took time to develop as the image went through at least three versions, including one that situated Six as a hunter with his dog at his side (date unknown; private collection; fig. 4.10). Six likely insisted that the image be revised to instead emphasize his intellectual strength, not his physical prowess: a sheathed sword

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[271] Adams, *Public Faces and Private Identities in Seventeenth-Century Holland: Portraiture and the Production of Community,* 100-101.
[272] Alpers by way of J.B. Descamps reports that Six attempted to coax Rembrandt out into public activities, to no avail. Svetlana Alpers, *Rembrandt's Enterprise: The Studio and the Market*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press (1988), 92.
[273] David R. Smith, "Carel Fabritius and Portraiture in Delft," in *Art History*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (1990), 156.
[274] Simon Schama, *Rembrandt's Eyes*, New York: Knopf (1999), 574.

on a belt is cast aside on a table to his right, and a dagger and hat are hung on a wall above him.[275] By emphasizing the quiet moments, the artist and the sitter indirectly define the effort that the burgher expends on behalf of the city and its culture. This practice of suggesting the effort expended for the public good by emphasizing the toll that such work exacts on the mind and body has been in practice since the first century bust of Cato the Elder (75-50 BCE; Museo Torlonia, Rome; fig. 4.11): the Roman senator's face is haggard because he works hard on behalf of the Roman republic. In fact, as Luba Freedman notes, Rembrandt made sketches of Roman senatorial busts from the Augustan age. Rembrandt sought to suggest the toll of public civic life on Six by showcasing the byproducts of this effort: necessary and preparatory repose.[276]

Urbanitas: Worldly Wisdom of the Social Productions of Space[277]

We don't know much about the original owners of cityscape paintings, or the circumstances within which they bought them. However, we do know enough to make certain claims about how these pictures functioned as social objects for the people who owned them within the spaces in which they displayed them. The story about the sale of a cityscape painting repeated most is that about Cosimo III de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany. While staying in Amsterdam between 1667 and 1668, de' Medici visited artists' studios, as well as attractions like the Town Hall.[278] He enjoyed the work of many artists he encountered, including those of Frans van Mieris, Otto Marseus and Willem van de Velde, but it was a painting by Jan van der Heyden

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[275] Alpers, *Rembrandt's Enterprise: The Studio and the Market,* 92-93.

[276] Freedman, "Rembrandt's Portrait of Jan Six," 100-103.

[277] *Urbanitas* as a concept is touched upon by Weststijn in his book *The Visible World: Samuel van Hoogstraten's Art Theory and the Legitimation of Painting in the Dutch Golden Age,* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press (2008), 134. The value placed on the ability of artists to provide as convincing an image of a place or event as possible was seen, in some circles, at least, as an extension of good courtly behavior. In both instances, the model storyteller is one who can graphically articulate a story in his listener's "mind's eye." This ability attests to the courtier's worldly wisdom, or his *urbanitas.*

[278] Peter C. Sutton, *Jan Van Der Heyden (1637-1712),* Greenwich, CT: The Bruce Museum; and Amsterdam: The Rijksmuseum; New Haven: Yale University Press (2006), 122.

that especially pleased him. *The Town Hall of Amsterdam with the Dam* (1667; Galleria degli Uffizi; fig. 4.12) presents the square in the morning as the city rouses to life. The Town Hall's bell tower and cupola are famously askew, requiring the aid of a small ring attached to the picture's frame to produce its ideal viewing position.[279] Given the proximity between when de' Medici visited the Town Hall and then purchased van der Heyden's painting, Arthur Wheelock has theorized that the market for cityscapes was often made up of travelers seeking keepsakes of their travels.[280] While this is likely true in a some instances, other information seems to suggest that many of these paintings were bought by the citizens of the cities depicted.

Based on available research, cityscape paintings were bought by upper middle class Dutch citizens with connections to the artist as well as to the municipal mechanisms of the city. When de' Medici purchased *The Town Hall of Amsterdam with the Dam*, it appears to have been by special arrangement. De' Medici's host while in Amsterdam, his ambassadorial agent, Francesco Feroni, received a handful of men to his home on the Keizersgracht on January 5, 1668. These "diversi professori" brought paintings for the Duke to peruse. Willem van de Velde, the father of van der Heyden's frequent artistic collaborator, Adriaen van de Velde, arrived with *The Town Hall* in hand. Records indicate that the painting appears in the duke's collection in Florence not long after.[281] The special conditions within which de' Medici bought this painting indicate that it was not merely a memento for tourists, but a special exchange between individuals with professional ties to the artist and city. This seems true of other purchasers of van der Heyden's paintings.

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[279] Sutton, *Jan Van Der Heyden,* 124.
[280] Arthur Wheelock, "Jan van der Heyden: *The Town Hall of Amsterdam*, 1667," in Ariane van Suchtelen and Arthur K. Wheelock, eds., *Dutch Cityscapes of the Golden Age*, The Hague: Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis; Washington: National Gallery of Art; and Zwolle: Waanders (2008), 118.
[281] Sutton, *Jan Van Der Heyden (1637-1712),* 122.

The enthusiasm that the Grand Duke of Tuscany felt for paintings by foreign artists does not appear to have been similarly felt by members of the Dutch elite. While this project has focussed almost exclusively on the members of Holland's expanding merchant middle class, members of the upper nobility and the House of Orange adopted a rigidly patriotic approach to art collecting. Eric jan Sluijter explains that by the middle of the seventeenth century, members of the nobility, the upper and lower middle classes, and the House of Orange collected Dutch paintings almost exclusively. An inventory from 1632 specifies that, unlike other European rulers, Frederik Hendrik and Amalia van Solms-Braunfels collected paintings and other artistic works exclusively by Dutch artists.[282] Similarly, the home of Amsterdam burgomaster Andries de Graeff, and that of his brother, Cornelis, contained an art collection made up exclusively of Amsterdam artists.[283] This trend continues down the social hierarchy to people of lesser means in the form of prints and less expensive paintings.[284]This approach responds to Barlaeus's call for a more socially conscious ethos of cultural consumerism, but it also sets a more public model for Dutch art collectors to follow. Barlaeus's address in 1632 within the walls of an educational institution catering to Amsterdam's merchant classes reached a very specific audience. That this same sentiment was carried out in material terms by the Dutch Stadholder gives the impression of a united narrative of the patriotic value of cultural consumption between the institutions of education and politics.

As Jonathan Bikker reveals, a handful of the original owners of van der Heyden's paintings were not art connoisseurs with just a passing affinity for the artist's pictures, but people either employed by the city or members of the same social and professional circles as van der

[282] Eric jan Sluijter, "Ownership of Paintings in the Dutch Golden Age," in *Class Distinction: Dutch Paintings in the Age of Rembrandt and Vermeer*, Boston: The Museum of Fine Arts (2015), 92.
[283] ibid 96-98.
[284] ibid 110-111.

Heyden. These circles of association indicate that these paintings were more than decorative pictures, but objects of greater social and political significance than might first be assumed. Paintings depicting the neighborhoods and squares around the city were statements about one's connection to these places as well as his or her sense of obligation to the city.

Jan van der Heyden's professional responsibilities as an inventor and municipal employee put him in contact with art collectors with more than just a passing affinity for pleasing pictures. Jan van Petersom occupied many roles within Amsterdam's municipal government throughout his career, beginning as a traveling messenger in 1655, and then becoming a municipal clerk and then accountant general. Along the way he made the acquaintance of van der Heyden, whose work on the city's firefighting systems likely put the two into frequent contact.[285] Peterson owned two paintings by van der Heyden, one of a fire pump and one a cityscape. Hartmanus Hartman, a merchant and church warden, owned a painting of Amsterdam's tree market, perhaps *The Nieuwezijds Voorburgwal with the Town Hall of Amsterdam, Seen from the South* (ca. 1668-70; private collection; fig. 4.13).[286] Van der Heyden's membership to the Mennonite order provided him many clients among the city's wealthy merchant elite. The paintings that these collectors owned included both pictures of landmarks around the city, including Dam square and the Town Hall, and images of the wealthy country estates they owned.[287] In fact, many of the owners of these cityscape paintings also commissioned paintings of the very streets on which they lived. For example, Joseph Deutz, an Amsterdam banker who owned a home on the Herengracht, may have owned one of Gerrit Berckheyde's paintings of the

[285] Jonathan Bikker, "The Town Bookkeeper and Fellow Mennonites," in *Jan Van Der Heyden (1637-1712),* Greenwich, CT: The Bruce Museum; and Amsterdam: The Rijksmuseum; New Haven: Yale University Press (2006), 85.
[286] ibid 85-86.
[287] ibid 86-87.

picturesque Golden Bend, picturing the canal during the era of its construction in the 1660's (*The Golden Bend in the Herengracht in Amsterdam, Seen from the Vijzelstraat*, ca. 1672; Rijksmuseum; fig. 4.14).[288] Later members of the Deutz family would continue to purchase paintings of the areas in and around Amsterdam, including a few by van der Heyden.[289] While the precise number of paintings owned by these and other collectors is unknown, as well as the specific paintings by each artist they held in their collections, it can be said with some certainty that their professional interactions with van der Heyden and Berckheyde provided many opportunities to build their collections. Jonathan Bikker asserts that the painting owners within van der Heyden's social and professional circles had no motivation to collect other than their fondness for attractive pictures.[290] However, given the genre's ascendant popularity during an era in which the city was expanding, the combustable nature of Amsterdam's redrawn political lines, the municipal positions held by the owners of these paintings, as well as the general cultural shift toward an ethos of collecting that endeavored to bolster Dutch cultural products, these paintings functioned as extensions of the owner's sense of civic identity. Collecting cityscape paintings was an activity with higher stakes than just their values as decorative objects. Furthermore, the manner in which these paintings were displayed in the home attests to the character of these pictures as performative objects.

The types of paintings collected by buyers and their chosen locations within the home illuminate how they viewed themselves and the nature of their relationship with the city and state. Lefebvre suggests that if social spaces are indeed made, then the objects that adorn the

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[288] Arian van Suchtelen, "Gerrit Berckheyde: The Golden Bend in the Herengracht in Amsterdam, Seen from the Vijzelstraat," in in Ariane van Suchtelen and Arthur K. Wheelock, eds., *Dutch Cityscapes of the Golden Age*, The Hague: Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis; Washington: National Gallery of Art; and Zwolle: Waanders (2008), 89.
[289] Bikker, "The Town Bookkeeper and Fellow Mennonites," 84.
[290] ibid 88.

spaces frame the knowledge contained within. As a comparison, Amalia van Solms (1602-1675), princess of Orange, and her husband Stadholder Frederik Hendrik (1584-1647) exemplify the collecting practices of art enthusiasts who bought and displayed paintings for the dual purposes of personal "self-imaging" and perfunctory displays of noble aesthetic. Although they were members of the noble class, and therefore expected to "keep up" with the collecting practices and tastes of their counterparts in Spain, France, and other states, they were able to occupy positions within this realm and that of local Dutch culture. While the States General governed the Netherlands, the aristocratic House of Orange still wielded considerable influence over political and artistic life.[291] The Binnenhof, the Stadholder's residence, was the property of the States General, but the rooms within the Stadholder's Quarter, where the prince and princess resided and privately entertained guests, featured a painting collection that focussed exclusively on Dutch painters.[292] History paintings, portraits of domestic and foreign nobles, church interiors, erotic scenes, and seascapes filled out their collection in a manner that functioned as a visual tour through Dutch artistic culture as well as the requisite nods to aristocratic collecting patterns.[293] But Amalia's private apartment within the Stadholder's Quarter shuns this broad overview of aristocratic pictorial pomp. The ways in which she decorated her personal apartments in The Hague model the uses of paintings as extensions of personal identity inherent in republican governmental structures.

The art collections of the public areas of the the Binnenhoff and the more private areas within Amalia's personal apartment within the Stadholder's Quarter present a woman gliding between the roles of public figurehead and private citizen. By surveying the Stadholder's

[291] Saskia Beranek, "Strategies of Display in the Galleries of Amalia van Solms," *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 9:2 (Summer 2017) DOI: 10.5092/jhna.2017.9.2.4, 1.
[292] Sluijter, "Ownership of Paintings in the Dutch Golden Age," 92.
[293] ibid 95.

inventories and Amalia's personal letters, Saskia Beranek has discovered that the princess cultivated a personal art collection more expressive of her individual private tastes separate from the business of the House of Orange. Unlike the collections in more ceremonial spaces within the Binnenhof and Frederik's personal areas, Amalia's collection emphasized portraits of her children, ancestors, relatives, and foreign acquaintances. The pictures emphasize her self-identification as a mother, wife, and a women with friendly and familial ties to other women within aristocratic courts throughout Europe.[294] Portraits of her children by Honthorst, historiated portraits of herself and her niece by Honselaarsdijk and Honthorst, as well as many others depicting her female counterparts in other countries provide insight into her sensitivity to contemporary artistic fashion, the importance of family, and her cultivation of strong social networks of communication and exchange among herself and others within courtly realms.[295] That Amalia's collection exemplifies the themes and concerns known to be most important to her suggest that she maintained a significant amount of agency over the decorative decisions of her personal spaces. Her private apartment is a personal statement of her self-perception about her own identity and her networks of social exchange. Michael North refers to this phenomenon as "self-imaging."[296] This use of paintings as articulations of the self becomes a more prominent practice among burghers and the merchant classes in Amsterdam during the "Stadholderless Period" when the republican system of government is more pronounced and consumer markets shift to meet middle class demands.

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[294] Beranek, "Strategies of Display in the Galleries of Amalia van Solms," 12-15.
[295] ibid 14.
[296] Michael North, "Republican Art? Dutch and Swiss Art and Art-Production Compared," in *The Republican Alternative: The Netherlands and Switzerland Compared*, André Holenstein, and Thomas Maissen, Maarten Prak, eds., Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press (2008), 206-207.

The aesthetic and material consumption practices of Amsterdam's wealthy and middle class burghers are related to the political system thriving in the middle of the seventeenth century.[297] As there were fewer barriers to enter the art market, art buyers could pursue a variety of channels to purchase paintings that spoke to their individual tastes and senses of self. Royal collectors and urban elites bought paintings on commission while the general public bought on the open market.[298] However, the degree to which one group had more political power than the other impacted the popularity of certain types of paintings over others by the middle of the century. As J.M. Montias has revealed in his study of seventeenth-century household art inventories, "the subjects of the artworks collected, especially those of a religious and political nature, […] shed light on the history of mentalities."[299] One development of greatest interest to this project is the decrease in history and religious paintings and the concurrent increase in the popularity of landscape paintings by the middle of the century.[300] Among the domestic inventories surveyed, this "history of mentalities" suggests that art buyers felt strongly about exhibiting their ties to the Dutch landscape and its built environments.

The increase in the popularity of cityscape paintings and the locations of their display within the homes of mid-century Amsterdam burghers suggests that art buyers of a certain socioeconomic level experienced their sense of urban citizenship in increasingly pronounced ways. By bringing paintings of the city and its landmarks into the private home, burghers have drawn the process of urban transformation into the domestic space. Amsterdam's grand project of building up and transforming the early modern city, making it pliable to the urbanite and the

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[297] North, "Republican Art? Dutch and Swiss Art and Art-Production Compared," 193.
[298] ibid 199.
[299] John Michael Montias, "Works of Art in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam: An Analysis of Subjects and Attributions," in *Art in History History in Art: Studies in Seventeenth-century Dutch Culture*, David Freedberg and Jan de Vries, eds., Santa Monica: The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities (1991), 331.
[300] ibid 336.

mercantile republican system, was bought into the home within the conceptual vehicle of the cityscape painting. Once home, they transformed the private spaces of the *voorhuis* and the *binnenhaard* into political spaces that framed and controlled knowledge.

It is difficult to say with certainty why people collected cityscape paintings, but their numbers and locations within family homes suggests the role they played in people's behavior of "self-imaging". As a living entity, the city of Amsterdam crafted its own identity through uses of strategically chosen and placed imagery.[301] An individual is no different than a city in this respect. In their study of Dutch homes and their seventeenth-century inventories, John Loughman and John Michael Montias adapt Erving Goffman's observation of human behavior as similar to theatrical performances. Like Goffman's example of the theatrical stage, some behaviors in the home are performed for public display, others are private, sequestered away from peering eyes. The front rooms of the home, or 'front stage' , boast large windows that invite the external gaze; they are also used for entertaining and other social visits that allow the burgher to curate a display for the viewing community. The rear of the home, or 'back stage', is reserved for the necessary preparation and personal "costuming" that create the public display.[302] The paintings that occupy the 'front stage' or 'back stage' suggest the relationship between the occupant's public self and their inner core.

Some of the most elaborately decorated rooms of a burgher's home included images devoted to the cultivation of personal identity. Hendrick Schaeff, a notary and 'salary-

[301] North, "Republican Art? Dutch and Swiss Art and Art-Production Compared," 202-204. Carvings of Argus and Mercury above the burgomasters' chambers in the Town Hall frame its occupant as the watchful protector of the provinces of Holland and West-Friesland. City magistrates commissioned group paintings of themselves as protective *schutters,* hung in the halls and chambers of gourd halls and board rooms all over the city, framing themselves as the guardians of Dutch life and liberty.

[302] John Loughman and John Michael Montias, *Public and Private Spaces: Works of Art in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Houses*, Zwolle: Wanders Publishers (2000), 71.

administrator' for the West India Company, owned over fifty-four paintings in his six-room house on the Herenmarkt in Amsterdam. While we do not have the attributions of the paintings in his house, most of them were kept in his entrance hall, or *voorhuis.* This collection has been itemized as containing portraits of family members and a variety of landscapes, as well as maps of the Caribbean islands.[303] For Abraham Sam, a prosperous wine merchant and member of the Dordrecht electoral college, or the "Forty", a collection of family portraits and town views filled two rooms of his home that were likely used for both entertaining and rest.[304] His "best room", described by Loughman and Montias as a main reception room, included various family portraits, landscapes, and maritime paintings that commemorated Dordrecht burgomaster Cornelis de Witt's naval victory over British forces at the mouth of the Thames river during the Second Anglo-Dutch War. Sam's "basement room" included paintings of municipal landmarks, from the city's town gates to the Nieuw Poort, as well as numerous landscapes.[305] In these and other similar examples, paintings that speak to various aspects of an individual's self-image, his vocation, family and social associations, and civic attachment, were organized in largely public areas. This suggests that the assemblages of these paintings were carefully curated statements about the self for a public audience. Many of these paintings likely suggested citizenship as a critical component of this display.

In his paper on Dutch material culture of the Golden Age, J.M. Montias traces the evolution of material tastes in the era immediately before and during the Stadholderless Period. In the section that deals with the increased popularity of landscapes paintings between 1650 and 1679, Montias acknowledges that the landscape category in most domestic inventories included

[303] Loughman and Montias, *Public and Private Spaces: Works of Art in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Houses*, 88.
[304] ibid 99,102.
[305] ibid 102.

everything from landscapes proper to cityscapes.[306] Furthermore, the category of "perspectives" used by Montias and others include primarily paintings of church interiors or fantastical architectural designs, of the type produced by Hans Vredeman de Vries.[307] As the landscape category experienced a appreciable expansion over history paintings during this period of political shift, it is conceivable that cityscape paintings were a not insignificant part of this rise in popularity. Compare this with the brisk decline in portraits depicting the members of the House of Orange during this same period, and a pattern begins to emerge. Considering the growing presence of the afore mentioned pictures in the collections of homeowners employed either directly by the city or in a business coordinating with the city, it is clear that the purchase and display of city and townscape paintings was performed as part of a larger process of self-imaging. The city and its reputation was a component of a burgher's declaration of his public and personal persona.

In Conclusion

Painting has a special relationship to space. It intellectualizes the body's location in space and time, producing a rationalized interpretation of space. Unlike the images of town and city spaces of prior generations, the Dutch cityscape artist had to account for his relationship to the places he depicted, and he ultimately did this for the paintings collector, too. Was the artist on a bridge over a canal, on a barge or ferry, or was he standing on the Kalverstraat looking into Dam Square? The painter does not invent these approaches to signify subjectivity so much as assign a visual language to contemporary events had given him.

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[306] Montias, Works of Art in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam: An Analysis of Subjects and Attributions, 336.
[307] John Michael Montias, *Art at Auction in 17th Century Amsterdam*, Amsterdam University Press (2002), 87, 241.

Cityscape paintings supplied the world with a vision that it awaited. This occurred at other times of sociocultural shift and upheaval. As a comparison, Henri Lefebvre argues that Picasso was not the artistic revolutionary that cultural historians romanticize. Picasso was instead the supplier of a vision that the existing world implied to him.[308] Lefebvre suggests that Picasso's success came from his ability to assemble the pieces that the cultural milieu of the World War I era provided. The phenomena of imperialism, political and social abstraction, and masculine aggression were all given a visual form when the artist shifted to Primitivism and Cubism after 1907.[309] As Lefebvre describes, Picasso reinterpreted space, but that "is not to say that Picasso was the cause of that space; he did, however, signify it."[310] Lefebvre goes on to say that the artist

> glimpsed the coming dialectical transformation of space and prepared the ground for it; by disclosing the contradictions of a fragmented space - contradictions which reside within him, and in all his works whether given form of not - the painter thus bore witness to the emergence of another space, a space not fragmented but differential in character.[311]

The relationship between art, political and cultural currents bore as much significance on Amsterdam and its artists during the Golden Age. The cultural and religious tensions that circulated throughout Europe following the Protestant Reformation activated a rupture within the political institutions that governed northern Holland. Authors, philosophers, engineers, and academics signaled this change within their respective fields of influence. But the artists, from Steen to van der Heyden, assembled these discursive pieces into iconographic systems that redrew the concept of public space within this new sociopolitical environment. Cityscape paintings provided a subjective visual language for urban life within the republican systems that typified the Stadholderless period. The Dutch influence over the visual experience of the urban

[308] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 302.
[309] ibid 301.
[310] ibid 302.
[311] ibid 302-303.

environment would ultimately impact other cultures experiencing similar moments of sociopolitical rupture, from the Impressionists of France's Third Republic to the Ashcan painters of early twentieth-century New York.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The paintings of seventeenth-century Haarlem and Amsterdam interpret the bourgeois experience of the city, where the value and virtue of the merchant's municipal contributions are articulated back at him. Commercial activity in Dam Square, the towering Town Hall, trade along Amsterdam's Nieuwezijds Voorburgwal, and many other vignettes underscore the self-perception of the importance of the merchant's civic investment. From about 1650 these spaces of the city are taken in form the embodied vantage point of the individual burgher. Self-reflection is a steady theme throughout these paintings and also the texts that described sociopolitical life in the post-war Low Countries. This individual likely fit into the top two tiers of Marten Schook's divisions of the Dutch population. In 1652 the professor of logic and physics at the University of Groningen published a study into the classes of people who inhabited the Dutch Republic's urban centers.[312] Like cityscape paintings, this book reflected the success of the bourgeois burgher back at himself, affirming the burgher's position of sociopolitical importance. As Schook's text suggests, and inventory studies confirm, the typical collector of the paintings described here belong either to an upper class composed of nobles, patricians, and merchants, or a middle class of shopkeepers and artisans.[313] The spaces depicted are the ones accessed by these two classes.

In cityscape paintings the object of the bourgeois gaze indicates the spaces of the city available them. For example, Jacob Ochetrvelt's *Street Musicians in the Doorway of a House* (ca. 1665-70; St. Louis Art Museum; fig. 5.1) indicates the variety of spaces available to the

[312] *Martini Schoockii Belgium federatum: sive. Distincta descriptio Reip. federati belgii* (Amsterdam 1652), 117-118; see also Henk van Nierop, "The Anatomy of Society", in Ronni Baer, *Class Distinctions: Dutch Painting in the Age of Rembrandt and Vermeer*, Rooni Baer, ed., Boston : MFA Publications (2015), 23-39.
[313] Van Nierop, "The Anatomy of Society," 24.

bourgeois body, where wealth, social and political relationships open doors to encoded environments in literal terms. Our gaze begins in the *voorhuis* of this middle class home, where two women and a toddler greet traveling musicians at their front door. As Jephta Dullaart observes, the luxurious floor tiles that decorate the entryway guide our gaze past the musicians and into the urban environment beyond, where it is met by a church tower. The tower functions as a visual link between orderly domestic life and the clean urban environment.[314] The musicians are limited by the threshold, but nearly all spaces are accessible to the gaze of the merchant and administrative classes. Jacob Ruisdael's *Panorama of Amsterdam, Seen from the Cupola of the New Town Hall* (private Collection, on loan to the National Gallery, London; fig. 5.2), from 1670-72, is another painting where access is an important feature. This view of Amsterdam from the roof of the Town Hall, whose cupola was still under construction, looks northward toward the Ij river. It is probable that this construction site was restricted to the general public, but Ruisdael climbed its heights nonetheless to take in this prospect. This view approximates the all-knowing and all-seeing God's eye view of paintings like the Monogrammist Em's *View of Gorinchem* (1568; Gorkums Museum, Gorinchem fig. 5.3), produced in 1568, but imparts the specific embodied viewing position of the Hall's roof by featuring the cupola's ledge at the foot of the painting. Ruisdael, and ultimately the middle-class viewing subject, is fixedly oriented in space. Like the rooftop peeking into Hans Bol's *View of Amsterdam from the South* (Eijk and Rose-Marie de Mol van Otterloo Collection; fig. 5.4), from 1589, Ruisdael provides a visual explanation for his dizzying height, but *Panorama* differs in that the view is taken from within the city, from above the square where the artist is known to have worked and lived until the end

[314] Jephta Dullaart, "Street Musicians in the Doorway of a House, 1665," in Ariane van Suchtelen, Arthur K. Wheelock, Boudewijn Bakker, and Henriette de Bruyn Kops, eds., *Dutch Cityscapes of the Golden Age*. The Hague: Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis; Washington: National Gallery of Art; and Zwolle: Waanders (2008), 150.

of his life.[315] Like all of the paintings discussed in this project, these pictures place the viewer in a fixed, individualized position within the spaces of the city accessed by its burghers.

As I have attempted to demonstrate in this project, visual expressions of urban citizenship during the Stadholderless Period (1650-1672) were built around the embodied situatedness of the bourgeois body and its gaze. Social, political, and economic conditions colluded to create an opportunity for the merchant and administrative classes to reshape their urban environments, generating an individualized ethos of metropolitan collective organization in the process. The visual expression of this citizenship experience in cityscape paintings indicates a reciprocal relationship between the reformation of Amsterdam's spaces and the burgher who inhabited them. As the burgher's sense of himself within the spaces of the city began to shift rhetorically in line with period applications of classical philosophy the city expanded or reformulated its existing environments, entertaining an equivalent transformation.

Late sixteenth and seventeenth-century texts evaluating government and society argue for an individualized engagement with the city and its institutions. The projects undertaken by Justus Lipsius and Simon Stevin exemplify this relationship between individual and environment. The philosopher and the engineer both felt that the ideal citizen could be encouraged into existence by a system of rational laws and mathematically objective urban planning strategies.[316] Lipsius sought to reform the burgher's mind and Stevin subsequently endeavored to rationalize the burgher's body through coercion by transforming physical spaces. Lefebvre indicates this

[315] Ariane van Suchtelen, "Panorama of Amsterdam, Seen from the Cupola of the New Town Hall, c.1670-1672," in Ariane van Suchtelen, Arthur K. Wheelock, Boudewijn Bakker, and Henriette de Bruyn Kops, eds., ; Washington: National Gallery of Art; and Zwolle: Waanders (2008), 160.
[316] Nijenhuis, Wim, *The Riddle of the Real City, or The Dark Knowledge of Urbanism: Genealogy, Prophecy and Epistemology,* Amsterdam, The Netherlands : Uitgeverij Duizend & Een (2017), 171.

interconnectedness between body and urban space when he suggests that in the social spaces of cities, "the body serves as both point of departure and as destination."[317]

The individual is, in part, reflected in his engagement with and use of his surroundings. By the middle of the century, civic virtue became linked with patterns of material consumption. As mentioned in the first chapter of this dissertation, Caspar Barlaeus intuited the effect that a burgher might have on his surrounding environment were he to use his wealth and influence wisely. By doing so, the urban citizen could plug himself into a cooperative social network that would begin with his strategic contribution to Dutch culture and the arts where the resulting investment would buoy urban cultural industries, such as the visual arts, thus attracting foreign attention and interest, spurring continued immigration that would grow the population, necessitating continued urban expansion. Lefebvre summarizes this flow between body and environment, saying that

> The living organism has neither meaning nor existence when considered in isolation from its extensions, from the space that it reaches and produces. Every such organism is reflected and refracted in the changes that it wreaks in its 'milieu' or 'environment' - in other words, *in its space*.[318]

The concept of association that Lefebvre discusses is evidenced in the very real transformations that changed the shape and size of cities like Amsterdam as well in the evolving applications of perspective applied to images of the city.

The cityscape painting is more than just an expression of the pride an artist or citizen may have in his city. Although pride is certainly part of their rhetorical and visual appeal, the paintings of the city express an affection for the idea of what the city could be, a visual enunciation of possibility drawn along the lines of classical rhetoric and Aristotelean philosophy.

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[317] Lefebvre, Henri, *The Production of Space,* Oxford, OX, UK: Blackwell (1991), 194.
[318] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space,* 196.

This dissertation has argued that while each of the authors who helped to shape the Dutch concept of an urban self, from Lipsius to the de la Court brothers, wrote in different times shaped by various events, they are thematically strung together by an Aristotelean rhetorical thread. From the educational curriculum applied by Lipsius at Leiden University to Vossius and Barlaeus' enthusiastic incorporation of Aristotelean approaches to ethics, history, and art, Aristotle is deeply implicated in the early modern development of urban citizenship.[319] In particular, Aristotle's concept of the *polis* or *civitas* was attractive to those in search of a framework upon which to assemble experimental concepts of the city. By adopting a *communicentric* compositional strategy to depicting life in the city, artists put a focus on the cultural bonds that bind citizens and the voluntary social contract that endeavored to maintain community order.

My argument about the cultural rhetoric of the cityscape painting and its relationship to evolving concepts of citizenship is limited to two resources. The first is the collection of texts written between 1583 and 1662 that address city life and political action in both wartime and later, where texts encourage the uses of culture and economics during periods of reduced military hostility, but nonetheless uncertain times. The second resource is the collection of cityscape paintings, themselves. My analyses of these paintings has been largely restricted to formal analyses of their compositional organization, as well as available information on the collection and display habits of cityscape owners.

[319] Gerardus Vossius, in particular, was an influential adherent of Aristotle's logic and rhetoric. This in itself does not make Vossius remarkable, as many people during the first few decades of the seventeenth century were devoted adoptees of Aristotelean ideas, but Vossius' prolific output gave these ideas a wide reach across many disciplines and fields. His use of Aristotelean and Neostoic concepts in his work increased their absorption by others into various fields. For more on Vossius, his influence of seventeenth-century thought and use of Aristotle, see Nicholas Wickenden, *G.J. Vossius and the Humanist Concept of History*. Assen, Netherlands: Van Gorcum (1993), 53-56.

Subsequent investigations into cityscape paintings, urban citizenship and it's relationship to the wider early modern social milieu would benefit from more specific focus on these collectors. Aside from the inventories gathered over the last forty years by J.M. Montias, John Loughman, and S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, more period documents lie waiting in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek and RKD-Nederlands Instituut voor Kunstgeschiedenis. Additional information about who these collectors were and the social networks along which they acquired these paintings would tell us more about how cityscapes operated as objects of social exchange and urban identity performance.

One of the more befuddling aspects of this research is the inclusion of cityscapes into the larger category of landscapes in seventeenth-century domestic inventories. This suggests that period collectors did not think of the two painting genres as thematically distinctive, further complicating any claims that we might make about the social role that these paintings played. However, insight into the purchasing trends of cityscape collectors could tell us more about the association between material consumption and social and political ideology. However, I hope to have indicated that consumption and sociopolitical ideology share more than a coincidental relationship.

Because politics plays such a central role in the question of who can buy paintings, how and where, a comparative analysis between Dutch cityscapes and analogous pictures from non-republican European cultures would be illuminating. This dissertation has argued that the degree to which a burgher felt a sense of individual political empowerment, as well as an obligation to his city and immediate community partially influenced the types of paintings he collected and displayed. As the economic situation in Holland allowed for a greater diversity of people to collect decorative images, and its political organization by the middle of the century encouraged

wider participation in local government, the images that people chose to collect evoked their perceptions of Dutch cities as places where rationality, simplicity, and oder were stabilizing virtues. Comparative studies between Holland and other period republics, Venice being an popular counterpart, have emphasized similar impulses by the governing elites to commission and collect images commemorating the city, its grandeur, and their self-congratulatory responsibility for its greatness.[320] Peter Burke's *Venice and Amsterdam: A Study of Seventeenth-Century Elites* and E.H. Mulier's *The Myth of Venice and Dutch Republican Thought in the Seventeenth Century* both outline the similarities and difference between the early modern world's most powerful republics. However, a comparison between republican Holland and Stuart England, for example, would measure the extent to which activities within art markets were, in part, guided by self-perceptions of political agency.

Seventeenth-century England had a comparatively slight tradition of artistic cityscape production. Anton van den Wyngaerde may have produced the first panoramic image of London in the sixteenth century. John Norden likely produced the first panorama of the city of the seventeenth century. Similar images by Claes Jansz. Visscher and Wenceslaus Hollar were popular by the middle of the seventeenth century.[321] With the exception of Norden, all of these artists were from abroad, and none of the images they produced were of a *communicentric* nature. But how was artistic production impacted by political and social developments? The Reformation had a tremendous impact on the production of religious art in London, and the Civil

[320] Peter Burke, *Venice and Amsterdam: A Study of Seventeenth-Century Elites.* Cambridge, UK: Polity Press (1994), 111-124.
[321] Staurt Blumin, *The Encompassing City: Streetscapes in Early Modern Art and Culture,* Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press (2008), 67-66. See also Ralph Hyde, *Gilded Scenes and Shining Prospects: Panoramic Views of British Towns, 1575-1900*. New Haven, Conn: Yale Center for British Art (1985); and J. G. Links, *Townscape Painting and Drawing,* New York: Harper & Row (1972).

Wars prompted the flight of many immigrant artists out of England.[322] These and other events hamstrung the court patronage system throughout the seventeenth century. But what of the English middle classes? For the Dutch, prints and paintings of cities contained cultural currency. But a comparison between the two countries may emphasize the function of urban images as representations of social and political power, as well as the extent to which one political system or the other extended power and to whom.

The cityscape paintings of the Dutch Golden Age rhetorically imagine the city as a place governed by rationality and Neostoic order. In this city, the merchant class stewarded art, literature, and learning as the features that would restore Dutch culture from its eighty-year period of uncertainty, and light the path for its prosperous future. Their cultural prosperity was rather short-lived, for after 1672 the purchasing power of many Netherlanders dropped considerably, deflating the mass art market, which forced many artists into other professions.[323] But in 1632, the outlook was optimistic. Caspar Barlaeus framed Amsterdam as a sanctuary for humanism and the arts, and the administrative and merchant classes its protectors, suggesting that it is they who

> give this city a genuine and lasting glory from the eternal value of literature, from the scholarship of scholars and the prerogatives of science, that this city, which is almost a refuge from the whole world, also dares to become so of science, and the city, which is the treasury of almost all Europe, will now open the treasures of wisdom[.][324]

A charming picture indeed.

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[322] David Ormrod, "Cultural Production and Import Substitution: The Fine and Decorative Arts in London, 1660-1730," in *Urban Achievement in Early Modern Europe: Golden Ages in Antwerp, Amsterdam, and London,* Patrick O'Brien*, ed.,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2001), 210-211.

[323] Marten Jan Bok, "Fine and Decorative Art: Amsterdam," in *Urban Achievement in Early Modern Europe: Golden Ages in Antwerp, Amsterdam, and London,* Patrick O'Brien*, ed.,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2001), 208-209.

[324] Caspar Barlaeus, *Mercator sapiens: Oratie gehouden bij de inwijding van de Illustere School te Amsterdam op 9 januari 1632,* Sape van der Woude, ed., Amsterdam: Amsterdam Universiteitsbibliotheek (1967), 83-84.

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IMAGES

Figure 0.1: William Hogarth, *Gin Lane*, third state of three, 1751

Etching and engraving, 38.3 x 31.7cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, nr. 32.35. Image in the public domain.

Figure 0.2: George Bellows, *Cliff Dwellers*, 1913

Oil on canvas, 102 x 107cm. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, nr. P.146.16-1

Figure 0.3: Gerrit Berckheyde, *The Market Place and the Grote Kerk at Haarlem*

Oil on canvas, 51.8 x 67cm. The National Gallery, London, nr. NG1420.

Figure 1.1: Joachim von Sandrart, *Portrait of Caspar Barlaeus*, ca. 1637-1643

Brush in white, black chalk on paper, 23.8 x19.3 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, nr. RP-T-1885-A-480. Image in the public domain.

Figure 1.2.: Claes Jansz. Visscher (II) and Pieter Bast, *Profile of Amsterdam*, 1611

Etching and engraving, 44.1 x 147.4 cm. Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam,
nr. RP-P-1884-A-7654. Image in the public domain

Figure 1.2a: Detail, fig. 1.2.

Figure 1.2b: Detail, fig. 1.2.

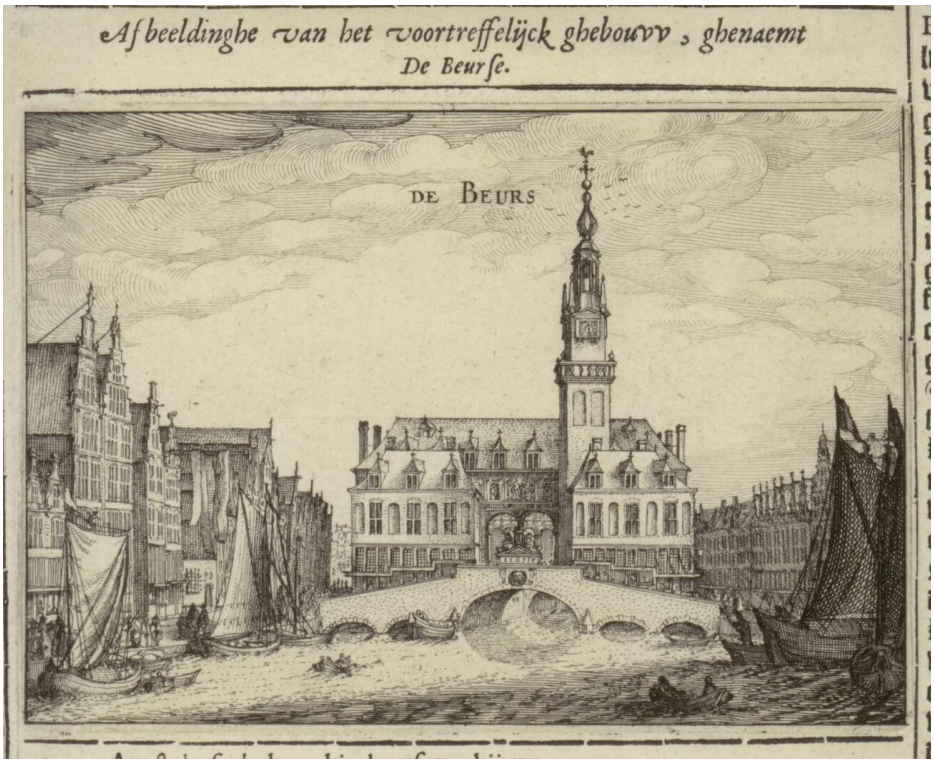

Figure 1.2c: Detail, fig. 1.2.

Figure 1.2d: Detail, fig. 1.2.

Figure 1.3: Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Tulp*, 1632

Oil on canvas, 169.5 x 216.5cm, signed upper center: “Rembrant Fv:1632.” Royal Cabinet of Paintings, Mauritshuis, The Hague, nr. 146. Image in the public domain.

Figure 1.4: Peter Paul Rubens, *The Four Philosophers*, ca. 1611-1612

Oil on panel, 167 x 143cm. Pitti Palace, Florence, Italy.

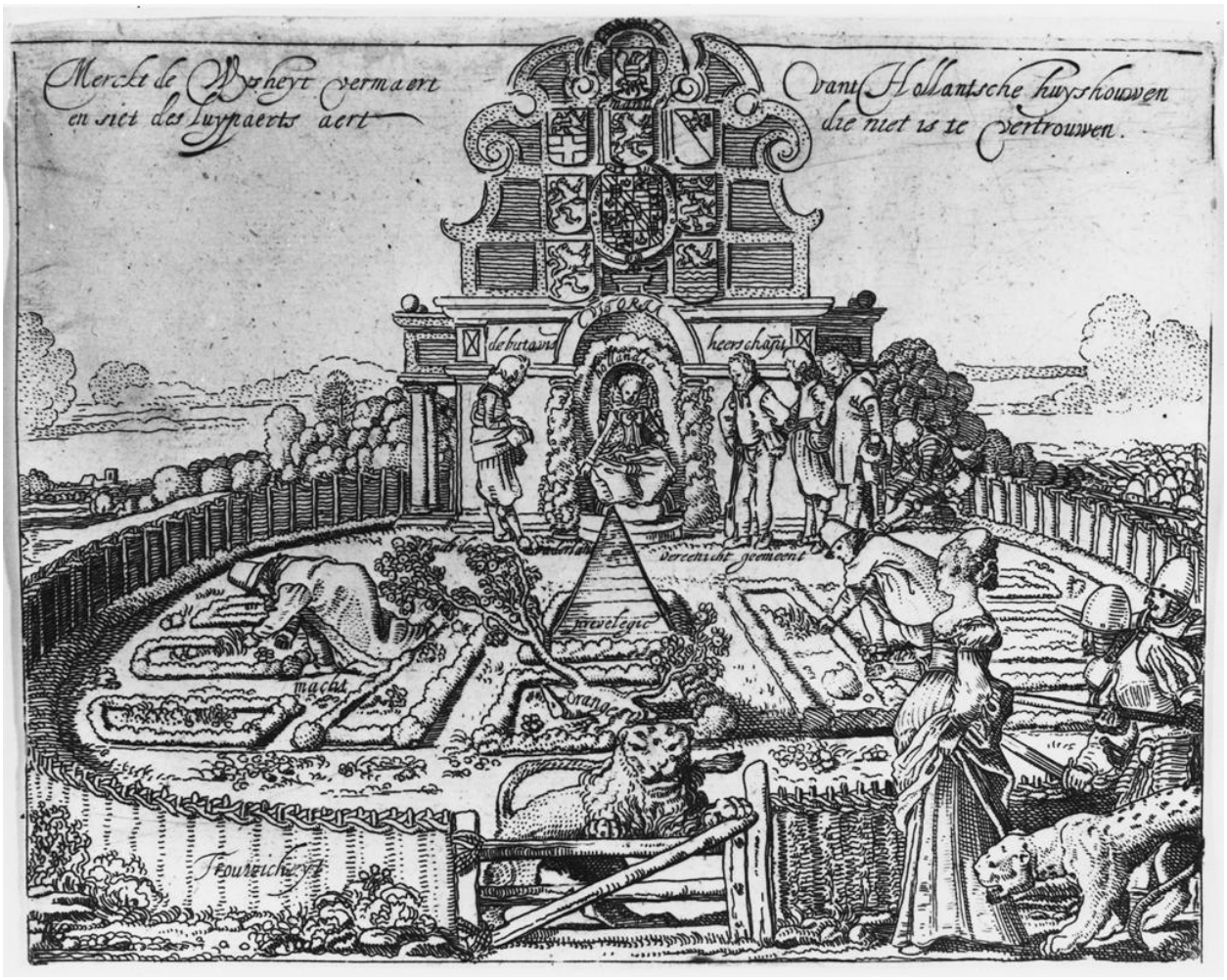

Figure 1.5: Willem Buytewech, *Allegory of the Deceitfulness of Spain and the Liberty and Prosperity of the Dutch Republic*, 1615

Etching, engraving, and drypoint, 14.5 x 18.4cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, nr. 1996.64. Image in the public domain.

Figure 1.6: Rembrandt, *View of Amsterdam from the Northwest*, ca. 1640

Etching, 11.2 x 15.2cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY, nr. 29.107.16. Image in the public domain.

Figure 1.7: Rembrandt, *Landscape with Three Trees*, 1643

Etching with drypoint and engraving, 21.3 x 28.3cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY, nr. 29.107.31. Image in the public domain.

Figure 1.7a: Detail, fig. 1.7.

Figure 1.7b: Detail, fig. 1.7.

Figure 1.8: Hendrick Goltzius, *Minerva*, ca. 1611

Oil on canvas, 238 x 143 x 15cm. Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem, The Netherlands, nr. os I-9. Image in the public domain.

Figure 1.9: Hendrick Goltzius, *Mercury,* 1611

Oil on canvas, 238 x 143 x 15cm. Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem, The Netherlands, nr. os I-95. Image in the public domain.

Figure 1.10: Hendrick Goltzius, *Hercules and Cacus*, 1613

Oil on canvas, 207 x 142.5 cm, Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem, The Netherlands, nr. os 79-1566. Image in the public domain.

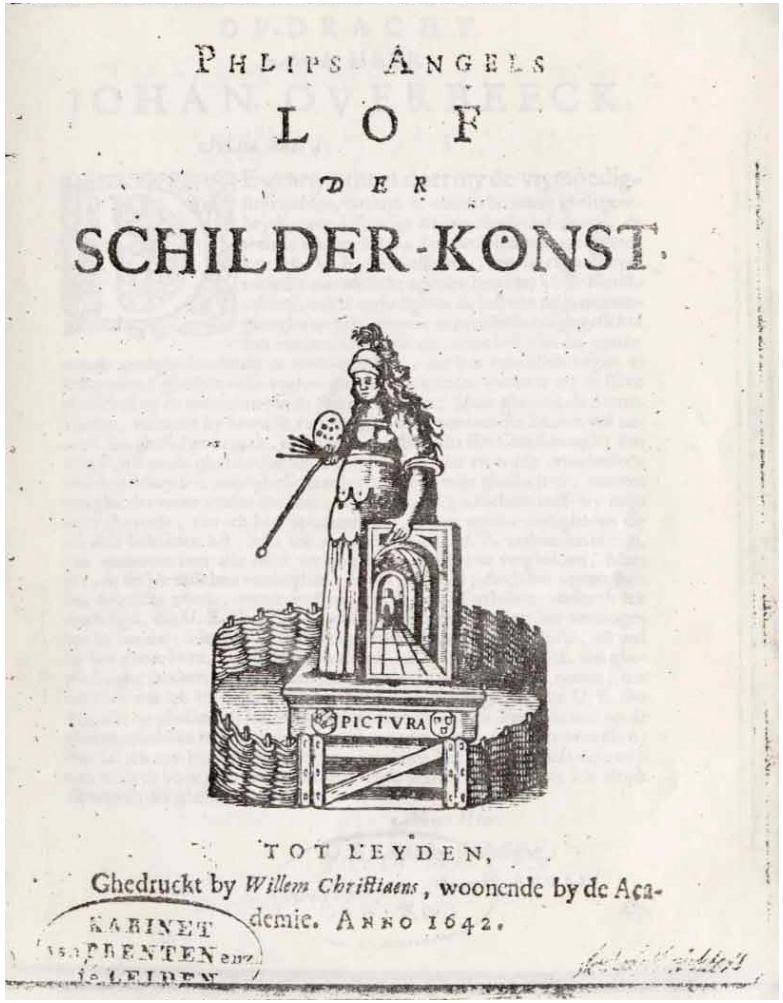

Figure 1.11: Philips Angel, *Lof der schilder-konst* (frontispiece), 1642

Leiden. Prentenkabinet der Rijksuniversiteit.

Figure 1.11a: Detail, fig. 1.11.

Figure 1.12: Jan van der Heyden, *The Oudezijds Voorburgwal with the Oude Kerk in Amsterdam*, ca. 1670

Oil on panel, 41.4 x 52.3cm, signature on bottom left: "*VHeyden.*" The Mauritshuis, The Hague, nr. 868.
Image in the public domain.

Figure 2.1: Jacob Vrel, *Street Scene*, ca.1654-1662

Oil on panel, 41 x 34.2cm. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, nr. 70.PB.21.
Image in the public domain.

Figure 2.5: Published and attributed to Salomon Savery and Joost van den Vondel, *Op de Waeg-Schael* (On the Scale), 1618

Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, nr. KW Pflt 2770b.

Figure 2.6:Jan van de Velde II and Samuel Ampzing, "St. Bavo's, Haarlem," *Beschrijvinge ende lof der stad Haerlem in Holland*, 1628

Etching, 16.1 x 20.9cm. Gemeentearchief, Haarlem, nr. NL-HlmNHA_53012298.
Image in the public domain.

Figure 2.7: Jan van de Velde II and Samuel Ampzing, "The Toen Hall," in *Beschrijvinge ende lof der stad Haerlem in Holland*, 1628

Etching, 16.3 x 24.75cm Noord-Hollands Archief, Haarlem nr. NL-HlmNHA_359_3949. Image in the public domain.

Figure 2.8: Willem Silvius and Ludovico Guicciardini, "Amsterdam," in *The Description of the Low Countries,* Antwerp, 1567

Special collections, Stadsarchief Amsterdam, nr. KAVA00010000001.
Image in the public domain.

Figure 2.9: Cornelis Anthonisz., *Bird's-Eye View of Amsterdam*, 1538

Oil on panel, 116 x 159cm. Amsterdam Museum, Amsterdam, nr. SA 3009.
Image in the public domain.

Figure 2.12: Federico Zuccari, “Forest Near Vallombrosa with Self-Portrait as Draughtsman,” ca. 1576

Red and black chalk on paper 271 x 395mm. Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, nr. 13329r. Image in the public domain.

Figure 2.14: Lucas van Valckenborch, *View of Linz*, 1593

Mixed technique on poplar wood, 23.3 x 36 x 0.8 cm, The Städel Museum, Frankfurt, nr. 158. Image in the public domain.

Figure 2.15: Lucas van Valckenborch, *Angler at Woodland Mere*, 1590

Oil on canvas, 47 x 56cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, nr. GG_1073.
Image in the public domain.

Figure 2.16: Lucas van Valckenborch, *The Emperor Walking in the Woods Near Neugebäude Palace*, ca. 1590 -1593

Oil on copper, 21.5cm x 36.2cm x 0.1cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, GG_9863. Image in the public domain.

Figure 2.17: Claes Jansz. Visscher (II), “t’ Huis te Kleef”, in *Pleasant Places,* 1611

Etching, 103 x 158mm. Rijkprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, nr. RP-P-1879-A-3473. Image in the public domain.

Figure 2.18: Jacob Vrel, Hamburg *Street Scene*, ca. 1650-1660

Oil on oak panel, 50 x 38.5cm. Kunsthalle, Hamburg, nr. 228.
Image in the public domain.

Figure 2.19: Jacob Vrel, *Street Scene*, ca.1654-1662

Oil on panel, 52.5 x 79cm. Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn. nr. 1937.489. Image in the public domain.

Figure 2.19a: Detail, fig. 2.19.

Figure 2.20: Claes Jansz. Visscher, *Pleasant Places: Vuurtoren van Zandvoort* (table of contents), ca. 1611
Etching, 102 x 145mm. Rijkprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, nr. RP-P-1879-A-3463. Image in the public domain.

Figure 2.20a: Detail, fig. 2.20.

Figure 2.21: Claes Jansz. Visscher (II), *Pleasant Places: Zandvoort aan Zee*, ca. 1611

Etching, 103 x 158mm. Rijkprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, nr. RP-P-1879-A-3464. Image in the public domain.

Figure 2.22: Claes Jansz. Visscher (II), *Pleasant Places: Pater's Herberg*, ca. 1611

Etching, 102 x 159mm. Rijkprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, nr. RP-P-1879-A-3465. Image in the public domain.

Figure 2.23: Claes Jansz. Visscher (II), *Pleasant Places: Potjes Herbergh*, ca. 1611

Etching, 103 x 158mm. Rijkprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, nr. RP-P-1879-A-3466. Image in the public domain.

Figure 2.24: Claes Jansz. Visscher (II), *Pleasant Places: Bleekvelden bij de Haarlemmer Hout*, ca. 1611

Etching, 104 x 158mm. Rijkprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, nr. RP-P-1879-A-3469. Image in the public domain.

Figure 3.1: Gerrit Berckheyde, *The Nieuwezijds Voorburgwal with the Flower and Tree Market in Amsterdam,* ca. 1675

Oil on canvas, 36.83 x 47.63cm. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles, nr. M.2009.106.1. Image in the public domain

Figure 3.2: Gerrit Berkheyde, *The Golden Bend in the Herengracht, Amsterdam, Seen from the West*, 1672

Oil on panel, 40.5 x 63cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, nr. SK-A-4750.
Image in the public domain.

Figure 3.3: Anonymous, *The Dam, Amsterdam,* ca.1590-1595

Engraving, 20.5 x 32.9cm. Gemeentearchief, Amsterdam. Image in the public domain.

Figure 3.4: Gerrit Berckheyde, *Dam Square with the New Town Hall*, 1668

Oil on canvas, 70 x 110cm. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen, nr. 11. Image in the public domain.

Figure 3.5: Erhard Reuwich van Utrecht, *View of Venice*, in Bernhard von Breidenbach, "Die heylighe bevarden tot dat heylighe graft in Jherusalem," ca. 1488

Woodcut, hand-colored, 28.5 x 164cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, nr. 19.49.3.

Figure 3.6: Monogrammist Em, *View of Gorinchem*, ca. 1568

Oil on panel, 31 x 68cm. Gorkums Museum, Gorinchem.

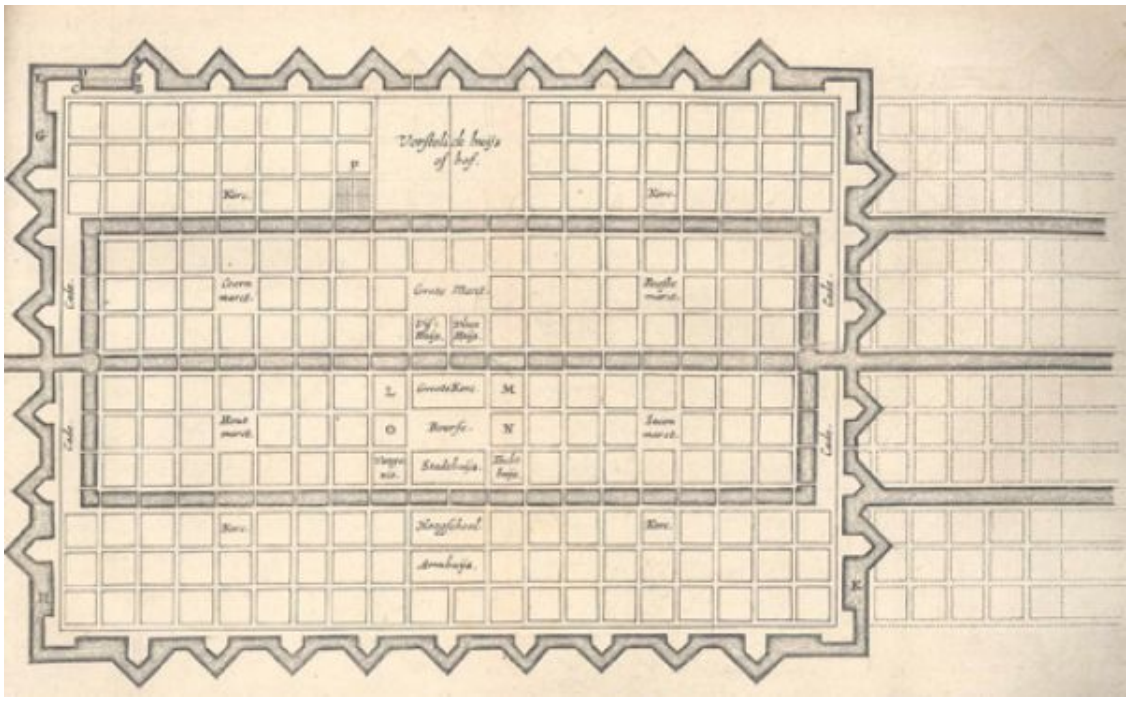

Figure 3.7: Simon Stevin, Ground plan for the his ideal city, *Vande oirdeningh der steden*, ca. 1605

Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, nr. KW 3085 F11. Image in the public domain.

Figure 3.8:Jacob van Ruisdael, *The Dam*, c.1660's

Oil on canvas, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin, nr. 885D.
Image in the public domain.

Figure 3.9: Rogier van der Weyden, *Saint Columbia Altarpiece*, ca.1455

Oil on panel, 139.5 x 152.9cm. Alte Pinakothek, München, nr. WAF 1189.
Image in the public domain.

Figure 3.10: Job Berckheyde, *The Old Stock Exchange in Amsterdam*, ca.1670

Oil on canvas, 85 x 105cm. Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, Rotterdam, nr. 1043. Image in the public domain.

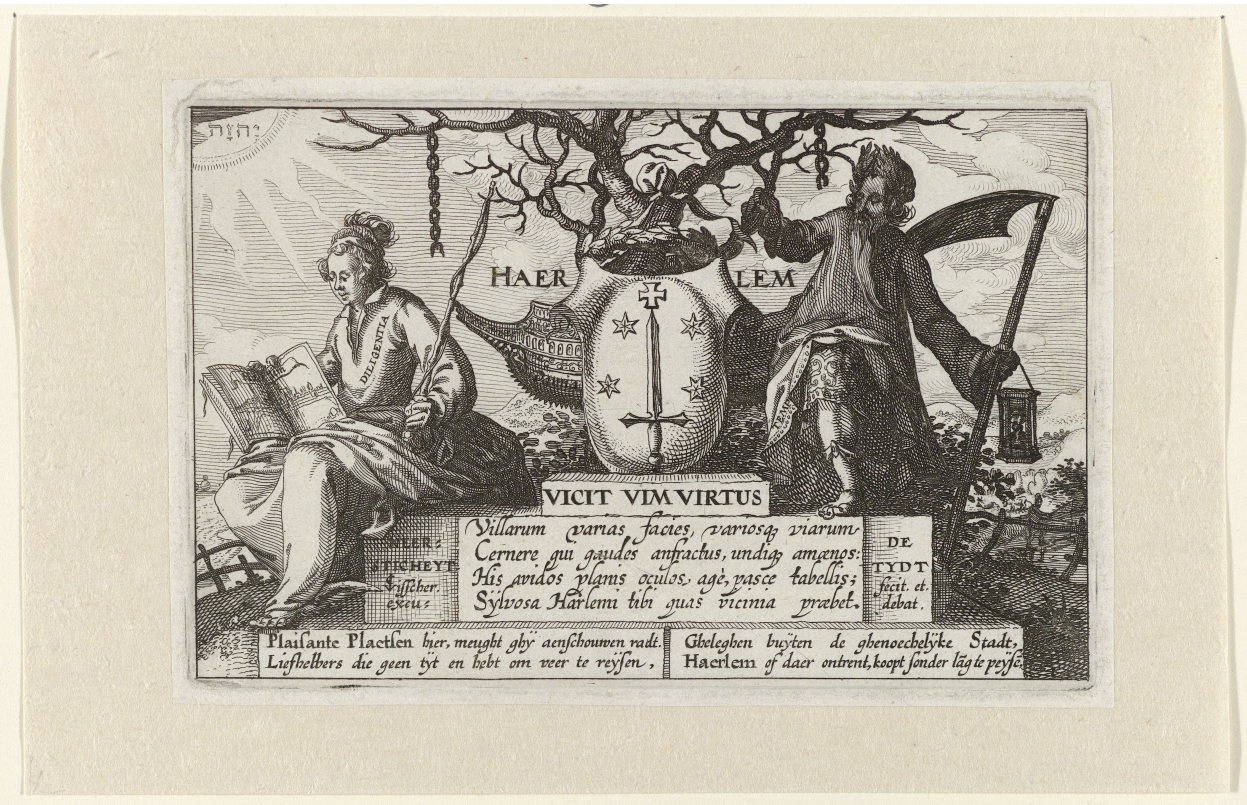

Figure 3.11: Claes Jansz. Visscher (II), *Pleasant Places: Diligentia en Tempus bij het wapen van Haarlem* (title page), 1611

103 x 160mm. Rijkprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, nr. RP-P-1879-A-3462. Image in the public domain.

Figure 3.12: Gerrit Berckheyde, *St. Bavokerk at Haarlem, Seen from the Portico in Front of the Town Hall*, signed and dated 1674

Oil on panel, 39.4 x 31.8cm. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Figure 3.14: Gerrit Berckheyde, Detail: *The Nieuwezijds Voorburgwal with the Flower and Tree Market in Amsterdam,* ca. 1675

Oil on canvas, 36.83 x 47.63 cm, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles, nr. M.2009.106.1. Image in the public domain

Figure 3.15: Gerrit Berckheyde, Detail: *De Bloemmarkt,* ca.1660-1680

Oil on canvas, 45 x 61cm. Amsterdam Museum, Amsterdam, nr. SA 7455.
Image in the public domain.

Figure 3.16: Reinier Nooms, *The Ferry to Naarden, on the river Amstel*, ca. 1659-1662

Etching, 13.6 x 24.6cm. Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, San Francisco, nr. 1963.30.11395. Image in the public domain.

Figure 3.18: Gerrit Berckheyde, *The Singel with the Round Lutheran Church, Amsterdam* 1697, signed and dated

Oil on canvas, 70.5 x 91cm. The Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco, Mildred Anna Williams Collection, San Francisco, nr. 1952.77.

Figure 3.19: Meindert Hobbema, *The Haarlemmersluis and the Haringpakkerstoren in Amsterdam,* ca.1660-1661

Oil on canvas, 77 x 98cm. The National Gallery, London, nr. NG6138.
Image in the public domain.

Figure 3.20: Jan van der Heyden, *The Nieuwezijds Voorburgwal with the Oude Haarlemmersluis*, ca.1667-1670

Oil on panel, 44 x 57.5 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, nr. SK-A-154.
Image in the public domain.

Figure 3.20a: Detail, fig. 3.20.

Figure 3.20b: Detail, fig. 3.20.

Figure 3.21: Frans Hogenberg after Pieter Brueghel, *Hoboken Fair*, 1559

Drypoint, 29.9 x 41.1cm. Rijkprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, nr. RP-P-OB-7369. Image in the public domain.

Figure 3.22: Pieter van der Borcht, *On the Ice Near Mechelen,* 1559

Etching, 29.3 x 47.8 cm. Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, Rotterdam.
Image in the public domain.

Figure 3.23: Jan van der Heyden and Adriaen van de Velde, *The Dam and Damrak, Amsterdam*, ca.1663

Oil on canvas, 61.9 x 71.1cm. Signed on a sack to left with initials of A. van de Velde. Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Cambridge, nr. 1968.65. Image in the public domain.

Figure 3.23a: Detail, fig. 3.23.

Figure 3.23b: Detail, fig. 3.23.

Figure 3.23c: Detail, fig. 3.23.

Figure 3.23d: Detail, fig. 3.23.

Figure 4.3: Jan Steen, *The Burgher of Delft and His Daughter*, 1655

Oil on canvas, 82.5 x 68.5cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. SK-A-4981.
Image in the public domain.

Figure 4.4: Bartolomeus van der Helst, *Celebration of the Peace of Munster, 1648*, at *the Crossbowman's Headquarters*, 1648

Oil on canvas, 232 x 547cm, signed center bottom "Bartholomeus Vander Helst, fecit Aº 1648."
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, nr. SK-C-2.
Image in the public domain.

Figure 4.5: Adriaen Backer, *The Regents and Regentesses of the Old Men's and Women's Almshouse*, 1676

Oil on canvas, 197 x 457cm. Amsterdams Historisch Museum, Amsterdam, nr. SA 991.
Image in the public domain.

Figure 4.6: M. Engel, *The Arming of the Peat-Carrier's Guild*, 1652

Oil on panel, 57 x 176cm. Amsterdams Historisch Museum, Amsterdam, nr. SA 1286.
Image in the public domain.

Figure 4.7: Jan Steen, *The Leiden Baker Arena Oosterwaert,* 1658

Oil on panel, 37.7 x 31.5cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, nr. SK-A-390.
Image in the public domain.

Figure 4.9: Rembrandt van Rijn, *Portrait of Jan Six,* 1647

Etching, drypoint, and engraving on laid paper, 24.5 x 19.3cm. Rosenwald Collection, The National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., nr. 1943.3.7136.
Image in the public domain.

Figure 4.12: Jan van der Heyden, *The Town Hall of Amsterdam with the Dam,* 1667

Oil on canvas, 85 x 92cm, signed and dated at left: “Jan van der Heyde. f. Aº 1667.” Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, nr. 1211. Image in the public domain.

Figure 4.14: Gerrit Berckheyde, *The Golden Bend in the Herengracht in Amsterdam, Seen from the Vijzelstraat*, ca. 1672

Oil on panel, 42.6 x 57.8cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, nr. SK-A-5003.
Image in the public domain.

Figure 5.1: Jacob Octervelt, *Street Musicians in the Doorway of a House,* 1665

Oil on canvas, 69 x 56cm. St. Louis Art Museum, nr. 162:1928.
Image in the public domain.

Figure 5.2:Jacob van Ruisdael, *A Panoramic View of Amsterdam looking towards the IJ*, ca. 1665-70

Oil on canvas, 41.3 x 40cm. Private Collection (On loan to the National Gallery, London), nr. L1052. Image in the public domain.